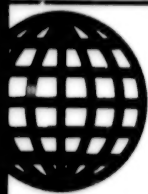


RS-NEA-90-023

APRIL 1990



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-90-023

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20 APRIL 1990

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. Viewed as Underrating Middle East, Egypt's Role

90AA0043A Cairo AL-AHIRAM AL-DUWALI  
in Arabic 21, 28 Mar 90

[Article by Salah-al-Din Hafiz: "Month of Confrontational Dialogue in United States; Entire World Succumbs to United States... But...!"]

[21 May p 7]

[Excerpts] The United States attracted me, so I went. With its bright glitter and its scorching fire, it attracted me and it continues to attract the eyes of the entire world these days. There, the decisions managing the world's affairs are made. To it old rulers and newly-created rulers for whom future roles have been prepared make their pilgrimage.

The United States alone seems to be the leader of western democracy and the sole ruler with the final say in formulating the new international relationships now that the role of the rival superpower, the Soviet Union, has declined.

Because it is so, its force of attraction has been strong. I went there at the invitation of the State Department and spent a month of concerted activity and contacts. But my eye never left my country and my heart never parted from it, and who can! My set objective was to find out how the Americans think of our affairs and where we fall on the map of their interest. Are we actually on the map or are we absent from it, not just because of our failure, but by virtue of the change of the U.S. interests and priorities themselves? [passage omitted]

I had the opportunity to visit major states and cities such as Washington—the capital, Boston, and New York on the east coast, and to cross the continent to the west coast to Seattle in the northwest, to San Francisco in Southern California, and to Missouri in the midlands, and to see the centers of vast industrial progress embodied in numerous civilian and military industrial centers, especially the centers of the present and the future or of the high-tech industry in Seattle and in the technology valley—Silicon Valley—which amazed us.

Oh, how rich and dazzling was the experience! But the eyes of people like me continue to be riveted to the homeland, and people like me continue to carry the homeland's concerns and hardships in their travels and voyages, dreaming that this homeland will attain what the Americans have attained. In 200 years, the Americans have built their country and turned it into the sole power ruling today's world. How I grieve for your condition, my country. You made the first civilizations thousands of years ago. But where are you today?

The true inlet to understanding is summed up in that the U.S. society "is now governed by two views" prevailing

among the top officials and thinkers and among the public opinion base. These two views are that the entire world is now actually kneeling before the U.S. and praying to it, and not to God, and that thanks to Gorbachev, the number one star, Soviet phobia [as published] is controlling the minds and enchanting the hearts everywhere. How do they see this?

A preliminary, simple, and immediate reading, and not a profound reading, of the developments may give everybody the impression and may fully convince the Americans that the entire world is kneeling before the U.S. master and turning toward Washington for prayer. This is how the rapid and successive developments, especially the enormous changes released by Gorbachev—who is more popular in the United States than U.S. President George Bush—are moving. [passage omitted]

As for the rest of the backward Third World, it is the captive of its backwardness and poverty and the hostage of U.S. aid now that it has lost its movement and maneuvering space between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union has withdrawn its cover, its aid, and its ideas also. Suddenly, the Third World finds itself standing naked opposite yesterday's ally, stunned by what is happening, and imploring the west to keep its aid to this third world flowing. Now and tomorrow, a major part of this aid will go to East Europe where the United States is energetically and actively working to strengthen the transformation from communism to capitalism. From the U.S. and West European perspective, East Europe is more deserving of this aid because Europe, both east and west, continues to be the conflict axis.

A second and profound reading of the current U.S. mood notes that the Soviet changes dazzle and please the Americans by the same degree. It is true that there is a small sector of bigoted intellectuals, such as ex-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, that are trying to brake the enthusiasm and admiration for the Soviet changes. But the overwhelming majority are dazzled, attracted, and enchanted. This is the time of the actual victory over communism which has collapsed. Here is the ghost of the devastating war—a war on which the United States has lived for 45 years—retreating. Here is the age of absolute U.S. supremacy over the world beginning strongly.

This is why the conversation in every home, in every university, and with every official and nonofficial we met was controlled by the "Soviet phobia." Gorbachev's picture is constantly shining on the pages of papers and books and on television screens, this infernal machine with the greatest influence on everybody.

The U.S. media, especially the television and press, have turned Gorbachev into a popular movie star. With his winning charm, his handsome image, and his soft-spoken manner which tickles both the hearts and the minds, Gorbachev is today the number one screen star. I don't know why I recalled here the similar role the U.S. media created for the late President Anwar al-Sadat from late 1975 until al-Sadat's dramatic death.



Without trying to make a comparison, if the Americans' admiration for al-Sadat materialized because al-Sadat surprised everybody, got aboard his plane, and landed in Israel, America's idol and pampered child, then their admiration for Gorbachev surpasses their admiration for al-Sadat because the Soviet leader has, in their opinion, accomplished for them the historical victory over the rivaling enemy, namely communism. This is why he deserves the title of the screen's number one hero and its bright star, even though we think differently. However, the matter is much more profound.

What is more important is that the United States is now preparing strongly for the post-USSR era. This is what more than one official and thinker said. We asked: How?

They answered simply: The Soviet empire has fallen, communism has collapsed, and East Europe has moved to the bosom of the capitalist West. As for the Soviet Union itself, it is inevitably heading for partition under the umbrella of the national, ethnic, and religious uprisings prevailing at present. [passage omitted]

We asked with alarm: And where do we, the Third World and nonalignment, stand?

The answer came with a malicious smile and with black sarcasm: As for you, the age of walking the tightrope stretched between the United States and the Soviet Union has ended. Your maneuvering space has narrowed, and the "opportunistic" balancing game which you played for so long has ended. The polarization is now one-sided. It is either absolute capitulation to the United States or starvation to death!

A mixture of despair and disgust possessed me and I asked again: Where is our place on the new world map? The answer is decisive: The only place for the backward is the peripheries determined by the decisionmaker and by the bounty, aid, and giftgiver and the sole new ruler of the world! [passage omitted]

[28 Mar p 7]

[Text] Throughout a month in the United States, the persistent question, rather the concern, chasing me was: Where is our position on the changing world map? Where is our place in the U.S. priorities, considering that for long years we have tied ourselves to the United States by a special love relationship? Because love is not, and must not be, one-sided, it is our duty to find out what the other side thinks of us while it is rearranging its priorities and reorganizing its policies now that the historical victory over his historical enemy looms in the horizon in the wake of the disintegration and defeat of communism.

Through profound discussions and dialogues with prominent U.S. officials, I can pause with you to observe and contemplate the following major points:

We would be very wrong to imagine that Washington is truly preoccupied with our issues or concerned with our problems. Therefore, we will commit the folly of our life

if we make our calculations on wrong bases or if we build them on naive illusions. This is because Washington has actually rearranged and continues to rearrange its priorities, has made the decision on its present and future options, and has programmed these options by computer—the demon of the age. Suddenly, our issues in this part of the world, known as the Middle East, are retreating due to numerous reasons, despite the clamorous statements here or there.

Washington's main priorities begin with and are formed by determining Washington's relations with the Soviet Union. The objective is to encourage the ongoing changes in the camp which was a socialist camp so that these changes may reach their end, i.e. the total abandonment of communism, restoring East Europe to West Europe's bosom, and breaking up the Soviet Union itself. The objective also includes reducing the intensity of the military clashes and of the political and ideological confrontations with the Soviet Union today, and with Russia tomorrow. This objective includes, consequently, ending the arms race and reducing the vast military spending that has affected the U.S. citizen's life and welfare as it affects the Soviet citizen's life.

Other priorities follow on the ladder of U.S. interests. They are embodied in promoting the democratic transformation in the world, especially in East Europe, in discussing NATO's future in the wake of the communist alliance's "collapse," in examining the impact of German unity—which is a scary ghost—on the map of international balances, and then in dealing with the future of the economic war currently raging between the United States and Europe on the one hand and Japan on the other. This war is a ghost that puts even greater pressure on the U.S. nerves, considering that the prevalent apprehension at present is the fear of the revival of the old and hostile political-military axis which included Japan and a united Germany. Together, they form a colossal economic power that is the strongest, most advanced, and most prosperous in today's world. Rather, this power is most capable of building the future weapon arsenals and, consequently, of waging the future wars!

Finally, the problems of the "backward" third world come at the bottom of the U.S. priorities. It is natural that the conditions in Latin America would be placed in the lead, considering that Latin America is the U.S. backyard. The Middle East issue perhaps follows because it is, as U.S. analysts see it, not an urgent, explosive, or inflamed issue.

If it is so, then what is the true nature of the clamor currently raised about an active U.S. diplomacy to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict, the crux of the Middle East issue, and how credible is this clamor?

I would not be exaggerating and would not be biased—as some Americanized people imagined in the wake of my first article last week—against the U.S. policy if I said that the statements are one thing and the actual policy

another. This is not only because the Middle East positions are inactive and not explosive, but fundamentally because the U.S. interest is devoted mainly to other more urgent issues according to the priorities we noted in the previous paragraphs.

[Missing text] to which all the gates of hell in the congress, as well as in the press, promptly opened.

Does this mean that our Egyptian and Arab issues are totally absent from the U.S. interest?

To begin, I will offer the opinion that the U.S. decision-makers and media emperors have gotten used to looking at our area with three main eyes:

1) An eye on Israel, the pampered U.S. child which continues to represent a U.S. stronghold in the Middle East and an attractive and enchanting model in building a center of "white and advanced western democracy" in a colored, dictatorial, fanatic, and backward environment!

This view is reinforced by the absolute U.S. admiration for "superiority," regardless of its motives or causes. As the U.S. society is superior in the western environment, Israel is superior in the Middle East environment. On this superiority complex, Israel has built, through the active Zionist lobby, a stronghold of influence within the U.S. intellect. This is the basis. As to the dust kicked up every now and then in the course of the U.S.-Israeli relations, it is like summer clouds which vanish promptly. The U.S. treasury and sophisticated weapons arsenal continue to be open to Israel. The secrets of the vast technology remain available to Israel so that it may continue to be a model of superiority.

This is why the U.S. policy has been and will continue to be biased toward whatever is Israeli and why Israel has continued to be one of the strongest centers influencing the U.S. decision-making—even when U.S. President Bush recently reaffirmed a position on Jerusalem taken more than 15 years ago. The television coordinates carefully with the AIPAC [American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee], which leads the Zionist lobby that relies on the activity of six million U.S. Jews.

This means that any U.S. Middle East movement is tied to iron shackles, the first of which is the shackle of Israeli interests. Until further notice, the shackle is strong and ironclad!

2) An eye toward the oil and the strategic positions. Oil is all that the U.S. master wants from us, along with the preservation of security and order in the oil areas and across the oil shipping sites and traffic lanes so as to guarantee its flow to the west. This is the crux of the so-called vital U.S. interests in the Middle East. All that is said about the traditional Arab-U.S. friendship falls under this article.

Yes, it is a traditional friendship. But it is based on the benefit of a stronger side whose sole concern is to insure the flow of Arab oil and, consequently, to guarantee the

stability of the ruling regimes controlling the oil sources so that these regimes may remain friendly and loyal allies!

3) There remains the third eye with which the Americans see the Middle East as the storehouse of terrorism, violence, and radicalism. In it and from it emanate all the terrorist acts, from the hijacking of planes to the detention of hostages, from organized armed violence to religious and ethnic radicalism, and from the persecution of minorities to the oppression practiced by the dictatorial regimes. The gist of it is that the Arabs are nationally fanatic and the Muslims are religiously fanatic!

They are three narrow, rather "crossed" eyes, that are governed by interests. This is understandable there, but not understandable to us. Of all our problems and concerns, these eyes see only three specific objectives: Protecting Israel, guaranteeing oil, and besieging terrorism. Anything else is tantamount to serving refreshments out of courtesy—and very few are the courtesies in the U.S. tradition which is fundamentally and primarily governed by the "business" mentality and by material interests!

Lest the Americanized Arabs get angry again with this frank criticism of the U.S. decisionmaking and ways of thinking, I will refer them to two important books, the first is "The Power Game—How Washington Works," by Hedrik Smith and the second is "History's End," by Francis Fukuyama, in order that we may understand how the United States thinks now, what philosophy governs its policy, the methods of accomplishing its objectives vis-a-vis the other parts of the world, and what place the concerns of other nations take in its interest. A profound reading, by whoever wishes or can do it, will provide the most eloquent lesson.

In confronting the three narrow eyes that govern the U.S. policy in most cases, do we have to capitulate and kneel on our knees? Do we have to reject, turn away, and abandon the entire world, especially the United States, and run away to the caves of absence and escape?

The truth is that neither this nor that is right. Thanks to the technology and information revolutions, today's world is a small electronic village that lives on cooperation, coexistence, and interdependence. But for us to merge in this interdependence, there are conditions to be met:

First, we realize that we are not the pampered children of the United States. Therefore, the United States will not continue to carry us on its shoulders forever out of love and kindness. The United States is an advanced and complex society governed by a superiority complex and it is automatically inclined toward the superior and the hardworking because it is itself so. We are not the same, so why should it carry us on its back?

Second, we have to work in order to eat and we have to help ourselves in order that the others may help us. This

is how the U.S. society is. Whoever fails to work there, and work hard, cannot eat but starves on the sidewalks. So why should the U.S. taxpayer spend the product of his efforts on helping idle people in backward countries who do not wish to work with the mentality of the age? They ask this question with amazement, and they have every right to do so.

Third, we should not meekly follow the Americanization wave that is sweeping us violently these days. It is true that the U.S. society merits our admiration because it has made miraculous accomplishments. But the U.S. policy merits our unabashed criticism, as we criticized the Soviet policy in the past. Between the two policies, there will always be a place for people like us who do not wish to sell their loyalty or mortgage their independence and will. Because the U.S. society respects the strong, it will inevitably respect this spirit of independence as it despises in its actions the meekly and submissively Americanized who are more American than the Americans themselves!

There remains here a position which merits admiration and support. It is the Egyptian position which receives special appreciation in Washington because it always strives to be independent, specific, and frank in case of both agreement and disagreement. Because it is so, Egypt's role is needed. Egypt's role in directly influencing the area's developments in peace as in war, its role in spreading a climate of stability, security, development, and democracy, even if it is deliberate and slow, its role in building bridges of understanding and historical compromises on just bases, as it has done in bringing success to the open Palestinian-U.S. dialogue or in preparing for a Libyan-U.S. dialogue which is still in its nuclear phase—all these are roles that confirm Egypt's need for the United States and the U.S. need for Egypt. There are intricate, though not identical, relations between the two sides, as William Quandt, an aide of ex-President Jimmy Carter, has said.

We say this because there are still those in the United States, as well as in our area, who insist on containing and shackling the Egyptian role with economic pressures and political and psychological restraints so that it may succumb and capitulate. There are those who are working to blockade the influential Egyptian movement by mining the inter-Arab reconciliation and by displaying concern over the Egyptian-Palestinian coordination or the Egyptian-Libyan-Syrian coordination, over the Egyptian movement in Africa, over the Egyptian "firmness" with Israel versus the warmth in the Egyptian-Arab relations, and over the traditional spirit of caution which Egypt displays toward the influence of the major powers.

There are those who are trying to bring Egypt to its knees with the war of starvation and with direct economic pressure, either by stiffening the IMF terms or by reducing the U.S. and European aid for Egypt. They do this with three elements on their mind: first, the "justifications" of the economic and military aid given to

Egypt ended with Egypt's conclusion of a peace treaty with Israel. This aid was an incentive for Egypt to sign the treaty. Therefore, the aid's role has ended. Just like that. Second, the danger of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation has disappeared. Consequently, the strategic importance of Egypt's role in the area has declined. Third, Egypt must always remain shackled and tied to the U.S.-European wheel and should always need to receive three out of every five loaves [it consumes] through aid so that it may continue to be like a damaged and captured boat, capable of neither sailing away nor of sinking to the bottom, but caught in between.

It is against this state of in-between that we should guard today before tomorrow. Else, it is the deluge.

A final word: The in-between state is like the color gray. It is tasteless and odorless because it is the weakest color.

### **Iraqi Threat Closer Than Estimated**

44230105A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 9 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by Re'uvén Fadhatzor]

[Text] "The growing military ties between Iraq and Jordan must represent a genuine source of concern, and we must not ignore the defense developments taking place on the other side of our eastern border." So said senior defense officials who emphasized that, in their opinion, there is a tendency to downplay the danger in the military-defense potential crystallizing in the cooperation between Iraq and Jordan.

"We were wrong in estimating that it would be a long time after the war in the Persian Gulf before Iraq would become a genuine security risk. Recent activities in the area of ballistic missiles, and, especially, the joint military activities with Jordan, prove that it is Saddam Husayn's intention to invest substantially in developing a military force which will represent a direct threat to Israel."

The main Iraqi-Jordanian cooperation is in the air. The two nations are conducting joint maneuvers of fighter jets, and the Jordanians are letting the Iraqi Air Force use air force installations on Jordanian territory.

Flights of the Iraqi fighter jets close to the Israeli border and the crystallization of joint work procedures with the Jordanian pilots and with the Jordanian system of control has to raise our anxiety level. The joint military activity of the two countries goes far beyond the usual cooperation between Arab nations, the sources pointed out.

It appears that King Husayn decided to strengthen his ties with the Iraqi Government as a possible counterbalance to the possibility of worsening relations between Jordan and Syria. But there is no doubt that the Jordanian king is well aware of the significance of granting

permission to Iraqi fighter jets to operate within Jordan for its future relations with Israel.

The Iraqi Air Force has grown significantly during the Persian Gulf war, and its pilots have accumulated valuable operational experience. The Iraqi Air Force has over 700 fighter jets, among them the most advanced fighter jets produced by the USSR. Others which the Iraqis use include MiG-29s and planes modeled after the Sukhoi-24 which are for long-range bombings.

Iraqi Air Force pilots developed expertise, towards the end of the Persian Gulf war, in the area of depth bombings, and many of them gained experience in long-distance bombing flights, including flight refuelling.

It is likely, security sources say, that the leaders of the Baghdad government intend to strengthen Iraq's deterrent capacity in relation to Israel because of their ongoing concern about Israeli attacks and the possibility that Israel will try to destroy Iraqi nuclear facilities or ground-to-ground missile bases or the factories where these missiles are produced.

Also, these sources are warning that the Iraqi Government has still not given up on the desire to take revenge against Israel for destroying the nuclear reactor near Baghdad. In any case, we should pay close attention to the strengthening of military ties between Jordan and Iraq.

#### **Plan Outlined for Arabs To Achieve Food Security**

90OA0362A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH  
in Arabic 21 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Dr. Jamal Sadiq: "Arab Food Security: "New Look at Old Problem"]

[Text] Food security has become the principal issue commanding a growing interest at all levels of the Arab world. This is a new look at an old problem tied to the economic, military, political, and civilizational future of the entire Arab nation, especially since food has become the most important weapon used in international and regional conflicts and a means for exerting pressure on poor countries, as well as countries that rely on the outside for securing the basic and everyday needs of their peoples.

Due to the underdevelopment of production sectors and the steady growth in population, food shortage continues to be a major source of concern. Arab agricultural production has been falling year after year at an alarming rate in all Arab countries, without exception. The Arabs now import over 25 percent of their grain supplies and about 35 percent of their meat supplies.

The Arab world now relies on the outside world for over 50 percent of its wheat, sugar, oil, meat, and dairy supplies, an indicator threatening the freedom of the political and economic decisionmaking process throughout the Arab world.

Ever since the establishment of the Arab League, the Arab countries have been mindful of the dangers of this situation

and of the inattention to the agricultural sector. Hence the many meetings held for this purpose, including the economic summit conference held in Amman in 1980, the 34th session of the Arab Social and Economic session held in Amman in 1981, the 41st session held in Amman in 1986, and the Riyadh conference which was part of the 42d session of the Arab League Economic Council that recommended bolstering of Arab agricultural crop exchange channels.

Arab economic policy makers are fully aware of the importance of achieving food security in the nineties and of the challenges facing Arab economic policy. But the living reality has to be dealt with in accordance with the definite priorities of each state. What is certain is that the gap between being aware of the danger and implementing resolutions to ward off the danger ought to be closed through prompt action along the following basic priorities and pivots:

- Promotion of self-sufficiency projects for principal foodstuffs, grains, sugar, vegetable oils, popular fabrics, fish products, poultry and eggs in particular, with a surplus for export.
- Focus on institutional infrastructures that allow small producers to take on an effective role in advancing their situation and offer enough incentives to encourage them to bind themselves to the land and to raise production and productivity.
- Subsidize agricultural services and use modern technology in utilizing resources in order to focus on vertical expansion by reconstructing and rationalizing existing projects while seeking to introduce and develop crops, fodder, and cattle in the agricultural cycle of irrigated and unirrigated projects.
- Raise the production of vegetables, fruits, milk and poultry; expand and promote individual and private activity; and find the means to cut the cost of production inputs.
- Raise the productivity of basic export products such as cotton, oil grains, animal wealth, fava beans, and sesame.
- Raise the production of industrial production inputs and raw materials with the same precedence as the aforementioned foodstuffs.
- Subsidize land, river, and air transportation and cut the cost of transporting production inputs.

#### **ALGERIA**

#### **Ramadan Shortages Lead To Increase in Incidents**

90P40008A Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Apr 90 p 6

[Article by Georges Marion: "Algeria: Benefiting From Ramadan: Merchants Are Making the Prices of Foodstuffs Skyrocket"]

[Text] Every year, the month of Ramadan is an opportunity for merchants to manipulate the price of foodstuffs. This time, however, all records have been beaten and never have Algerians seen such a stream of increases.



Incidents have erupted in front of food stores, and supply agencies appear unable to accommodate the demand.

#### Algiers (from our correspondent)

The strict fast that, during the month of Ramadan, must be observed by every Muslim during the daytime, is followed, after dusk, by one or perhaps two meals, thus explaining the price explosion. The evening meals are, in effect, the time to eat the most coveted delicacies of local cuisine, purchased without much regard for expense.

Few are the families who do not make sacrifices to follow tradition. For the merchants of the private sector, the temptation is strong, therefore, to take advantage of these circumstances, even if they have to sacrifice the duty of honesty imposed by the "sacred month" of Ramadan. This occurrence is as inescapable as the return of spring, and Algerians are quite used to this. However, this year the prices have gone through the roof. From one day to the next, prices have undergone dizzying spirals. No products have been spared, whether it concerns everyday staples such as tomato paste, peppers, green beans, oil, coffee or those reserved for special occasions such as raisins, almonds or prunes, which are used in preparing the finest feast dishes.

In the large state-run stores where the humblest classes stock up on subsidized products, prices are certainly more stable, but goods are lacking, in spite of the statements by officials assuring, a short time ago, that everything was ready to confront the growing demand. Out of concern for contributing to the feast, the government had promised to fix the price of meat at 58 to 85 dinars per kg<sup>1</sup>. For the consumer, this promise has assumed a bitter taste: at that price, meat remains scarce, has already been sold, or has disappeared toward unknown destinations. As for butchers in the private sector, they sell their beef or lamb for some 160 dinars per kg<sup>1</sup>.

#### Hoarding

Everything is combining, in effect, to further emphasize the unpleasant situation owing to traditional weaknesses of local distribution. According to the procedures often seen in East Europe, the perverse effects are mounting. The shortages in the public sector and the price hikes in the private sector are prompting the hoarding, which empties the stores and stocks, contributing to the development of a feeling of insecurity, which in turn drives people to purchase nonessentials. All of the distribution avenues are disorganized, incapable of confronting the demand in spite of the enormous injections of commodities in the context of Ramadan.

In such a context, the slightest additional difficulty has incalculable consequences. Oil—which is missing from the sales counter—is available in bulk, but the bottles that allow for its commercial sale are not delivered on time. Similarly, the refrigerator trucks to transport the meat carcasses to the butcher are not always at the

appointed place and the meat remains at the slaughterhouse. Add to this the activities of speculators, petty thieves or swindlers who reach an understanding to take advantage of the situation. Numerous and well-organized, they team up to get in line in front of the state stores, buying everything possible and reselling these items at the exit for twice the price. Sometimes they illegally export their purchases to neighboring countries where the prices, unsubsidized, are much higher.

In the face of such practices that are apparently little suppressed, the homemaker seems helpless, given little alternative to spending long hours in line amid the jostling and aggravation. Sometimes sharp confrontations erupt. At the end of last week, consumers and retailers assaulted a truck, which was delivering crates of soap powder to a large store in Bab el Oued, sending one of the store's employees to the hospital. Similar incidents have occurred including one involving a butter truck that was looted in just a few minutes.

More serious still, on 28 March, fruit and vegetable stores were ransacked in El Idrissa, a small community located 300 kms south of Algiers by consumers who were protesting the price increase.

#### Footnote

1. At the official rate, the dinar is worth approximately 0.70 French francs.

## EGYPT

### Parliamentarian Calls for 'Perestroyka', Lists Demands

90OA0367B Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Feb 90 p 2

[Column by 'Alawi Hafiz: "Al-Tasaddi" (Confrontation)]

[Text] I believe that the readers of "al-Tasaddi" now have a crystal clear view of this column: no violence and no radicalism. Rather, it is a serious invitation to contribute to the other opinion with courage, candor, and honesty. It is a verbal duel in which I hope the ruler and his government will take part. What is there to prevent the dialogue and the duel from being public rather than bilateral? The objective, however, is one, namely the interest of Egypt and then the interest of the Arab nation. Egypt is above all the people and for all the people. It is not a country estate but rather a state for all Egyptians, and there is no beating around the bush. We are all partners in the rule, the opposition along with the majority, for this is the true concept of democracy.

We have the right to share in the rule with you, for such is the law of eternal change in the universe. No constancy and no inaction, but rather a steady and perpetual movement forward in the interest of the country, for the country is for everyone. You are all a shepherd and every shepherd is responsible for his flock.

Justice is the basis of rule under all conditions and circumstances. It is simply and solely a sacrifice. Let us not forget that man's mission in this world is comprised of three words: succession, worship, and purity.

I, the people, believe that everything is possible, and I have the right to go on strike in the face of injustice. The law has an obligation to regulate such strikes, but no one has the right to abort them. The voice of the people must forever ring in the ears of the ruler, cautioning him, setting him on the right track, and evaluating his conduct and his decisions. This is so that injustice will not build up, and the despots, tyrants, and executioners, who crush the people because they can only survive under autocracy and by deifying the ruler and his hypocrisy, will not grow and prosper. We want everyone to have the right to strike under the letter and spirit of the law and at any time. This is not a fad or a call to anarchy, clamor, and destruction. It is the right of the oppressed to articulate their pains and lift injustice so that the ruler of Egypt gets used to hearing the people's voice instead of that of the extollers, the chanters, the hypocrites, the censor carriers, and the wedding procession liars who are responsible for the deviation of this regime governing Egypt.

These people renounced all values and set out to look for their notables in order to take advantage of their closeness or their clout. They have pilfered the country's wealth, they have oppressed the people, and some of them have become billionaires while the poverty map in Egypt has expanded to include all honorable people. Poor Egypt, mother of nations and the richest country on earth. It has become humble, poor, and weak at a time when the entire world is advancing rapidly.

This situation will not go on forever. The morning will surely dawn.

Come on brothers, sons, and daughters. Write to me and I will write for you and speak in your name.

You, the ruler, and I can initiate change with our will if intentions are sincere, if loyalty is allowed to prevail, and if sacrifice became a necessity.

I will go on sounding the bells so that everyone will hear them, here and under the parliament's dome, in order to achieve the triple objective. We are indeed in need of an Egyptian perestroika which we can draw up together so that my nation may live for my children and my grandchildren.

O rulers of Egypt, our demands today are as follows:

- First, repeal of the emergency law.
- Second, abolition of all emergency courts.
- Third, release of all political prisoners and detainees.
- Fourth, repeal of the press law.
- Fifth, repeal of all disreputable and freedom-restricting laws.
- Sixth, ascertaining government integrity by examining the financial disclosures of the rulers and their kin in a TV program watched by the people.

- Seventh, referring all cases of corruption, abuse of power, and illegal gain to the prosecution for investigation.
- Eighth, assignment of leadership positions to trustworthy people.
- Ninth, dissolution of the current People's Assembly and the liquidation of the Consultative Assembly.
- Tenth, election of a national association to draft a new constitution for the country.

This is our reconstruction agenda in the proper order. If it appeals to you, a round table would be the best way to discuss change.

O people of Egypt! Stand up to corruption and inaction. Call out for freedom and democracy. Long live Egypt above all people.

### **Police, Party Officials, MB Speak Out on Sectarian Violence**

#### **Police Describe Cairo Incidents**

90AA00364 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR  
in Arabic 23 Mar 90 pp 22-23

[Article by Muna al-Mallakh and 'Izzat Badawi: "People With Dangerous Records Lead Radicals and Attract Children To Incite Sectarian Sedition; Tale of Two Young Women Who Provoked Fear and Terror in Hearts of Jewelry Shop Owners in 'Ayn Shams in Name of Islamic Jihad Group"]

[Excerpt] The distance from al-Minya to 'Ayn Shams is more than km 300 and the incident changed completely when it moved from Upper Egypt to Cairo.

The riot instigators in 'Ayn Shams are hardened criminals with security records. They have records as dangerous people who tried to attract children with the aim of inciting sectarian sedition. This is why their target was the area's goldsmiths who were asked to pay astronomical sums of money.

To start, Colonel Barakat Sayyid 'Abd-al-Hafiz, commander of the 'Ayn Shams Police Precinct, asserts that the explosive charge thrown at the Holy Virgin Church in 'Ayn Shams is no more than a rash childish act intended to prove that the radical groups have a presence in the area. He further asserts that it was not the purpose of this act to blow up the church, else the perpetrators would not have used a glass jelly jar filled with gunpowder used in the "fireworks" industry and with nails and metal pieces.

The public prosecution investigations conducted by 'Ala' 'Abd-al-Razzaq, the 'Ayn Shams prosecuting attorney, with the three defendants accused of throwing the explosive charge have revealed that they perpetrated this act in solidarity with al-Minya and Abu-Qurqas incidents, and to underline the Islamic group's activity in 'Ayn Shams. The detailed confessions made by defendant Muhammad Mahmud have revealed the full details of

the story which provoked fright among Muslims and Christians in 'Ayn Shams last week. In the prosecution investigations, this defendant asserted that he joined the 'Ayn Shams Islamic Group last year without his family's knowledge.

After sunset prayers last week, Ahmad 'Abdallah, the amir of the 'Ayn Shams Islamic Group who is known by the name of Ahmad Judah, instructed the defendant to attack the guard at the Holy Virgin Church on Ahmad 'Isamat Street in solidarity with al-Minya and Abu-Qurqas incidents and gave him a plastic bag containing four glass jars. The group amir also told the defendant that he would take part with him in carrying out the attack and that they will be joined by 'Id 'Abd-al-Hafiz, a member of the group who works as a construction carpenter and lives in the same area.

The public prosecution has charged the three defendants with criminal agreement, with attempting to kill the soldier guarding the Holy Virgin Church, and with the possession of unlicensed explosives.

#### Attracting Juveniles and Children

Col. Barakat 'Abd-al-Hafiz says that the concentrated presence of radical groups in 'Ayn Shams is due primarily to the fact that it is a poor and overcrowded area where the majority of the inhabitants are craftsmen who are not familiar with religious affairs and who have been crushed by the economic conditions. These conditions have created the right climate for these groups to proliferate among the inhabitants and to focus their efforts on attracting and misleading children and juveniles, filling their minds with the groups' faulty beliefs in order to control the children and juveniles on the one hand, and to escape criminal punishment for the perpetration of the groups' crimes on the other hand, taking into consideration that the perpetrators are juveniles.

The 'Ayn Shams Precinct commander adds: These radicals have been infiltrated by professional criminals, especially by people who have records as dangerous criminals and who seek to hide as clergymen under the radicals' long beards. At the same time, the radicals have found in these criminals an instrument to carry out their terrorist activities and to confront the security men. Therefore, we cannot call these people Islamic groups because they are a mixture of radicals, of people who pose danger to security, and of thieves.

#### Criminal Record

But what does the criminal record of the 'Ayn Shams radical groups reveal?

Lieutenant Colonel Tariq al-Jazzar, the 'Ayn Shams intelligence chief, asserts that some of the prominent leaders of these groups have records as dangerous criminals in the security agencies' files. Leading among these people is Husayn Khudari, known as Husayn Kutshah, who has a record of car thefts and who is currently under precautionary detention for interrogation on the theft of

a car from 'Ayn Shams area. There is, moreover, Hisham Bunayyah who has a criminal record of varied thefts and who was released from jail last Sunday after serving a term for stealing spare car parts.

But what position do these people hold in the 'Ayn Shams radical groups?

A state security intelligence report asserts that Husayn Kutshah is the commander of the military wing of the 'Ayn Shams radical groups and that he is a prominent leader of the group. He was previously arrested and charged with inciting many of the riot incidents witnessed by the area in recent years, beginning with the assassination of al-Sadat in 1981, and ending with the present time. He was also arrested in the incidents which took place in Adam Mosque in 'Ayn Shams last year. He trains the group's children and juveniles on acts of violence and on confronting the security agencies.

Hisham Bunayyah is also a prominent leader of the 'Ayn Shams radical groups. He was arrested previously while leading the riot incidents at Adam Mosque two years ago. Their criminal records at the state security agencies confirm that these two carry out the group's terrorist activities in return for sums of money which they collect from the group's amir.

The criminal record of Ahmad Kamil Muhammad Jum'ah, the deputy amir of the 'Ayn Shams radical group who was killed while confronting the security agencies two months ago, shows that he used a chicken shop as a cover for his activities in the Islamic group, and that his mother and his father, Kamil Muhammad Jum'ah, have records as dangerous criminals for their extensive drug trafficking activity.

#### Story of Two Young Women

If this is the true character of those who allege to be Muslims and who lead riots and ignite fires between the 'Ayn Shams inhabitants to achieve their private ends, then AL-MUSAWWAR has obtained a serious leaflet which spread fear and terror in the hearts of Coptic goldsmiths, even among some Muslim goldsmiths, in the 'Ayn Shams area. They compelled them to gather all the jewelry in their shops and keep it in various places, displaying as little of it as possible for fear that they would be robbed. Last month, the goldsmiths received a leaflet carrying the name of the Islamic Jihad Group and demanding that each of them pay \$4,000 and 200 Egyptian pounds to two young women who are members of the group, or else suffer destruction and perdition. The leaflet warned them against informing the security agencies. The leaflet also included ridiculous conditions, demanding that the dollars be in the form of \$100 bills and the Egyptian money in 20-pound bills, that the money be delivered at Radio Cinema during the 1430 show, and that only the two young women, described as two women who will be dressed in green, should be present in the movie house when the money is delivered. The leaflet was signed with the words: Amir of the Islamic Jihad Group.



As soon as the security agencies learned of this leaflet, they set ambushes in various areas until they were finally able to expose the true nature of this leaflet which was aimed at provoking fear among Coptic businessmen and merchants in the area and at spreading confusion among Muslims and Christians. The state security intelligence were able to arrest the youth who sent this leaflet and he revealed the names of the two young women referred to in the leaflet. The public prosecution investigations revealed that the man had nothing to do with the Islamic groups and that he learned the name of one of the goldsmiths while he was in the goldsmiths section. In view of the rumors spread about the Islamic groups, this man printed his leaflet and sent it to the owner of al-Mudhish Company in 'Ayn Shams to deliver it to the goldsmiths in the area. The youth also confessed that he was going to keep the money for himself and that he had not expected the merchants to notify the security agencies, especially since he had warned them in the leaflet that they would be exposed to destruction and perdition if they notified the security agencies or if they failed to pay the demanded sums at the given time. Even though the leaflet author has been arrested and jailed with the public prosecution's approval, the area inhabitants continue to talk about the alms money the Islamic Jihad Groups demands of the goldsmiths, or else face destruction. The goldsmiths are still afraid that they will be attacked and robbed of their jewelry.

The truth is that since 1975, we have been living in this area in fraternity and friendship with our Muslim brothers. Though we have been hearing about violence and sectarian sedition in other areas, nothing of the sort happened in this area and we experienced no such incidents until two years ago when violence erupted at Adam Mosque.

The Copts live in a single fabric with the Muslims in the area. They are together at the office, in the school, in free enterprises and in other businesses. They share occasions and exchange visits and friendship.

Have the Islamic groups attacked private installations and businesses belonging to Copts in the area?

Yes, in 1988 the Islamic groups attacked cars belonging to merchants and the church in the area. Slight damage was caused to the church. The security forces dealt with the attacks firmly and severely and the press published daily reports about them. [passage omitted]

#### **Party Leaders Support Tougher Line**

90AA0036B Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR  
in Arabic 23 Mar 90 pp 25, 82-83

[Article by Iman Raslan: "Political Parties Demand Intellectual Confrontation of Incidents; Kamal al-Shadhili: I Urge Clergymen To Play Effective Role in Confronting Incidents; Khalid Muhyi-al-Din: It Is Necessary To Form Single Committee From All Parties To Confront Danger of Sectarian Sedition; Ibrahim Shukri: Acts Committed by These Radical Groups Harm Image

of Islam and Are Aimed Against Egypt's Security; Ibrahim Faraj: Democracy Is Only Way To Overcome This Problem"]

[Text] Egypt's political parties with their various tendencies are unanimous that a security confrontation of the sectarian sedition incidents which erupted recently is no longer sufficient, that the reality dictates that a broad dialogue and major intellectual and cultural action be launched, and that all those who are engaged in public action participate in it, because the country's security and future demand that a unified position be taken by all to confront this danger. This reality also demands that we steer this dialogue and action away from narrow partisan maneuvering.

Some have even gone farther. Kamal al-Shadhili, the chairman of the National Party's Parliamentary Committee, sees that the incidents were started separately by individuals and that they then expanded recently and spread quickly to a number of areas. He believes, however, that there are no specific reasons behind or special significance to the timing, and that such incidents could occur at any time and under any name as long as the seed of sedition is present and is planted from time to time. "I don't believe that a security confrontation of these incidents can do the job or eliminate the incidents completely. Awareness among the people and the masses, be they Copts or Muslims, is required. The clergymen from both sides must also perform their full role in this matter and must spread awareness through all the rostrums and with all the means. We condemn all these incidents because Egypt is the homeland of all, of both the Muslim and the Christian. What is more, the Egyptians are well known for their hatred of religious fanaticism.

"It is not enough that all clergymen declare that sedition is dangerous. In their calls, they must condemn the acts perpetrated by some individuals and groups. Their opinions will certainly have their reverberations among the masses and will elevate the masses' awareness of the danger of sectarian sedition. A firm stand must be taken toward what has happened because neglecting the situation and failing to contain it and to pursue the elements causing it can lead to the gravest consequences."

[AL-MUSAWWAR] What is the National Party's role in this confrontation and do you think that there has been failure in this regard?

[Shadhili] All the party members and those who work at the National Party offices in these areas work with all their capacity. Some of them spend the entire day preaching and pointing out the danger of the situation and of the increased threat of sectarian sedition. This is not all. They must also assist and cooperate with the security forces and the clergymen because these incidents require that all be vigilant and act with full responsibility.

#### **Grouping Party**

The Grouping Party has an opinion which is expressed by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the party secretary general.

Since the onset of the incidents, he has had his clear position on the incidents and has condemned them. He has said that it is certain that the current economic, social, and political circumstances which Egyptian society has been experiencing for some time have created weak points in the society. One of the most prominent diseases of weakness to afflict the Egyptian society recently is the disease of religious radicalism. Radicalism is a sign of the weakness and disintegration, not the strength, of a society. It is well known that Egypt has been a religious state throughout its history. But we have noticed recently that while the Islamic tendencies have strengthened, there has also been an increase of unethical acts in society, such as graft and corruption. Consequently, the proliferation of these phenomena in society makes untrue the radicals' allegation that it is an Islamic awakening. Else, social values would not have collapsed in such a way and these diseases would not have proliferated in such a manner.

Therefore, the Egyptian society now needs major intellectual and cultural action. Efforts must be made to emphasize religious tolerance, which is one of the characteristics of the Egyptian people. This tolerance is retrogressing and attempts are being made to destroy it. The government must intervene to deal with those who install themselves as rulers and judges of the Egyptian people's issues and affairs. The state must confront them, not only with security means, important as they are, but also with cultural and intellectual action that goes on all the time and not just during a set period or when such incidents and crises develop.

Regarding the parties' role in confronting the radical and terrorist elements, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din has said: The parties' movement is tied and shackled by laws and procedures that impede the parties' freedom, especially the freedom of the opposition parties, to engage in activity to confront these elements. However, all the parties, including the National Party, can form a unified committee to confront this phenomenon and to stand up against these incidents. This is something that must be done. What is happening is an endeavor to backtrack. Therefore, democracy must be strengthened and its scope must be expanded. By strengthening the people's exercise of and participation in democracy, these tendencies can be confronted. The government and the state must observe the law so that the people may feel benefit of the law and of its rules and institutions.

#### Labor Party

Labor Party Chairman Engineer Ibrahim Shukri says: There are irresponsible groupings, especially of youth, who have become inclined toward concepts that are not of the essence of the Islamic religious thinking, with its correct interpretations for dealing with the country's current conditions. On the other hand, there are those who try to exploit the mistakes made by these groups to strike every Islamic tendency and every endeavor to implement the contents of the constitution, which says that the *shari'ah* [Islamic law] must be the main source of

legislation. Undoubtedly, this exploitation undermines the constitutional conditions and the rights of the Muslim majority of the Egyptian people.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] But why didn't the Labor Party and its newspaper promptly condemn the incidents the moment they started?

[Shukri] To start with, we provided full coverage of the incidents last week and 'Adil Husayn wrote on this issue. I took advantage of the first public and mass occasion during a popular and party rally in the town of Sharbin last Thursday and declared my full condemnation of all the current incidents. I also condemned every act which could provoke and ignite sectarian sedition, such as the leaflets that were distributed in al-Minya, which harm the coexistence between the nation's two elements, and which promote fanaticism, especially in connection with the customs and traditions for which Upper Egypt is famous. Therefore, I say that if a mistake which can be attributed to a Christian side has been made, then this does not mean that it may be countered with the punishment of groups of people who have nothing at all to do with the mistake. The endeavors that undermine the people's unity must be confronted, not only with security measures but also through constant dialogue by whoever is engaged in public action and by the political parties, especially since there are people who try to destroy the relationship between the Muslim and Coptic members of the Egyptian people. These people are most often encouraged by those who benefit from such destruction. Some elements may be unwittingly trapped by the schemes of Egypt's enemies, and they are many.

#### Al-Wafd Party

The neo-Wafd Party's position is defined by Ibrahim Faraj, the party deputy chairman, who has said: Sectarian sedition is alien to Egypt's reality. This idea is alien to us and is a plot hatched against the Egyptian people. Under the illusion of religiosity, this plot has been able to exploit some youth who suffer from unemployment and who have free time on their hands. These ignorant youths think that religious fanaticism and fighting all ideas is the greater jihad, even though this fanatic thinking is against the principles of any religion. God is indivisible in all religions. Egypt in particular is united by the same origin since very ancient times. What is more, the Egyptian people are one of the few peoples whose blood has not been mixed with foreign elements. These people, with their deep roots and their greatness, have always been able to maintain their origins, which show in the natural character and the instinctive spontaneity of the Egyptian people.

I believe that there are some hostile elements that are trying to nurture the current sedition. They are certainly trying to offend Egypt in this delicate current circumstance and under the economic crisis conditions which the country is experiencing. They are lying in wait for Egypt's commendable attempts to unite the Arabs and for its efforts to take the lead in solving the Arab issues.

The free time the youth have on their hands and the youth's shallow education have become the fuse that helps plant the seed of sedition. The youths are not engaged in public and political issues. Consequently, they have lost a major facet which unites them and through which they feel that they belong to Egypt. Now, everybody is talking of the crisis of belonging among youths. We have even begun to hear of a number of crimes which did not exist in the past, such as a son killing his parents, another killing his sister, and other sorts of crime. The only way to overcome this crisis and to surpass the sectarian sedition is greater democracy and freedom.

Free expression and free elections are Egypt's only refuge, especially under the economic collapse circumstances we are experiencing. The people must trust their government so that they may act in solidarity with it and may help it surpass the current crisis. Through democracy, the people can help their government and can block the path of whoever tries to incite sedition. It is also essential that Muslim and Christian clergymen perform their role in religious enlightenment.

#### **MB: Violence Distorted, Foreign-Influenced**

90A40036C Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR  
in Arabic 23 Mar 90 pp 86-87

[Interview With Counselor Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, chairman of the MB parliamentary bloc, by Majid 'Atiyah; "Confrontation With Ma'mun al-Hudaybi: Why Has Brotherhood Refrained From Condemning Seditious Incidents; We Are Opposed to This Peculiar Thinking That Is Hostile to Islam; We Learned of Allegations and Rumors Six Months Before Incidents Occurred; I Do Not Exclude Possibility That Foreign Hands Are Behind What Has Happened;" first two paragraphs are AL-MUSAWWAR introduction; date, place not given"]

[Text] This interview had to be conducted with Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, an MB [Muslim Brotherhood] leader and chairman of the MB parliamentary bloc in the Alliance, especially since the MB has refrained from voicing an opinion on the religious sedition incidents in Abu-Qurqas, al-Minya, and the neighboring villages. The Alliance paper was issued when the "fire was at its peak" without making a single reference to it. This silence can only be interpreted as satisfaction with what has happened, not to say [that it elicits] an accusation of involvement.

Ma'mun al-Hudaybi has denied that the MB approves of what has happened, even though he acknowledges that he had prior knowledge. He has condemned the Islamic groups' behavior and accused it of being peculiar and hostile to true Islam. Al-Hudaybi has also faulted the "Coptic wise men" for failing to demand an investigation of the true nature of the rumor. He acknowledges, though, that it actually was nothing but a false rumor. He has demanded that the Copts and the Muslims issue a joint statement—in which all parties and unions participate—to condemn the religious sedition.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Peculiar incidents, rather incidents that are not in character with the Egyptian people who have coexisted nationally despite the difference of their religions, have descended upon the country. We have expected the MB to be the first to condemn these incidents. But the MB has remained silent, even though it is close to these tendencies and to this thinking.

[Hudaybi] I will begin with a point of order, namely the assertion that we are closer to these tendencies. This statement is the result and the continuation of tireless attempts to lump us together in the same "bag" with these other tendencies. Some people like to say that these tendencies emerged from under the MB's cloak. In their reports to the higher authorities, the security agencies like to assert that these tendencies are nothing but wings of the MB, and that they receive their orders and instructions from us or, to put it more frankly, they are our secret apparatus.

However, the irrefutable facts of the past 20 or 25 years, during which these ideas have raised their head and established some presence, confirm that we were the first to confront them most firmly and decisively, and that even while in jails and detention camps, we issued jurisprudential studies proving that this thinking is invalid and that it is abnormal and remote from sound Islamic jurisprudence. Even though we were in jail, we debated them point for point. After emerging from jail, we published those studies in a book we called "Preachers, not Judges." This is the phrase with which the late Grand Master Hasan al-Hudaybi confronted the advocates of this thinking.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] This is for the point of order. How about the rest of the question?

[Hudaybi] As to being silent, we are, in truth, somewhat frustrated by the media. Regarding these incidents, on which you say we have not issued a statement, we did issue a statement clarifying our position. But none of the national papers referred to it with a single word. The only exception is AL-WAFD, even though it did not publish the statement in full.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] When was the statement issued?

[Hudaybi] Last Thursday, 15 March 1990.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Meaning two weeks after the incidents occurred?

[Hudaybi] It may actually seem that the statement was issued late. But as I have already said, we are somewhat frustrated by the media and the press. We also had to explore the facts and sort out the truth from the rumor.

I wish to tell you something, namely that the latest incidents were not the product of their day or their moment. They were the product of labor which followed preludes that had lasted more than six months. Silently, quietly, without clamor, and without trying to take a

position, we directly or indirectly contacted all the officials we could contact in order to alert and warn, but to no avail.

I personally handed a top state official serious photographs which had their significance. I also tried to deliver the photographs to the state security intelligence through another individual.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] And what are these allegations or preludes which you say led to these regrettable incidents?

[Hudaybi] I will proceed and say that the allegations and rumors concerned homes to which young Muslim women are lured to be raped and photographed in the act, and then were forced to backslide from Islam and exploited to lure other young women. I will say that we were informed in detail of these allegations and of other similar allegations and that we in turn conveyed them to the officials. For our part, we were careful to pacify our brothers (from the MB) and we asked them to pacify others, not to be carried away by rumors, and to try to contact the local authorities to familiarize them with the allegations. Here, I wonder: Were the state agencies not informed of what we were informed of and what was circulated by people throughout months? What did these agencies do and what prevented them from asking the judiciary authority to conduct an impartial, comprehensive, and careful investigation?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Are we talking of actual facts, or of allegations and rumors, especially since the investigation authorities have not been able to prove any of the circulated rumors to be true?

[Hudaybi] If you would only let me finish my previous answer. There have been question marks regarding the government's position. What I mean is that it was the government's duty to conduct a clear investigation when those allegations surfaced, and to announce the outcome of its investigation and make it known to everybody. If culprits were found, they would be referred to the courts, and if those initiating the rumors were discovered, they would be punished for it. People would have thus been pacified and the facts would have been revealed. At the outset, I did not mean to accuse anybody. I just said that I wonder about the government position and about the position of Coptic leaders and wise men, especially in these governorates. They were aware of the rumors and allegations, and they must have appreciated their serious nature and the serious consequences they could produce. So why didn't these leaders also proceed to do something to clarify their position and to underline their condemnation and denunciation of such matters. Why didn't they demand an investigation to disprove these rumors and allegations?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Who is it that initiates the rumors that have been proven to be untrue?

[Hudaybi] This is a question to be addressed to the government, with its agencies which are capable of investigating the sources of these rumors and others. But

we and the people feel that no serious measure is taken vis-a-vis these matters despite their sensitive nature.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Should people be victims of rumors which threaten their security and interests while they are brothers in the same country?

[Hudaybi] There is a big difference between what should be and what actually happens. What should be is that people should not be carried away by rumors, especially if they touch on vital and fundamental interests. But what should also happen is that the government should take a firm position to protect these vital and fundamental interests and to reassure the people that its measures are actually capable of preserving these interests. What actually happens is that in our country and among all other peoples, rumors have their influence and strength, and they are strongest when they are connected with beliefs and honor. If people lose confidence in the government's measures and seriousness and if they feel that the government confines itself to oppressive measures against certain groups and does no more...

[AL-MUSAWWAR] You have spoken of the responsibility of Coptic wise men. What could the Copts do vis-a-vis leaflets that accuse them of all kinds of faults? For example, I have a leaflet published in al-Minya specifically. It accuses the Copts of being behind the drug trade and behind prostitution, whereas not a single Copt has been charged in a drug or prostitution case in the past 20 years. What can the Copts do when they are attacked while praying in their churches, as has happened in numerous locations?

[Hudaybi] I have not intended to blame the Copts. I have referred to them as I have referred to others. There is that which can be done and there is that which they can do. Both Coptic and Muslim wise and prominent men shoulder the responsibility of and are accountable for arranging a meeting that comes in the form of a popular movement that emanates from the area itself and is not imposed by the government from above.

As I have already said in connection with the allegations and rumors that spelled out certain details which occur at certain places, it was the duty of the wise Copts in the area to ask the government to take a decisive and prompt position in this regard and to announce without any reluctance their condemnation of any possibility of the truthfulness of such rumors, declaring that they are the first to denounce and confront whoever is involved in such things. This should have happened at the time when things started and before matters worsened and the voice of reason disappeared.

This does not, of course, negate the government's responsibility and fundamental duty. It is very obvious that there are fingers tampering with this country and that they directly and indirectly seek to create such sedition.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] You also blame the Copts for failing to deny the rumor and to get together with wise



Muslims to pacify people. You have said that you were aware of the rumors for months, and that you conveyed them to the government. As you proceeded to inform the government agencies, shouldn't you have also taken the initiative and invited these Copts to create a counter popular movement in order to preserve the unity and solidarity of our good people?

[Hudaybi] You are aware that our activity is very limited and is closely watched by the government. We have learned from past instances that the position the government takes toward us has its repercussions on other parties, and they are excused for it. For example, contacts have actually taken place between the [Coptic] pope and the grand master, and Muhammad Hamid Abu-al-Nasr did go to the papal offices, meet with the pope, and discuss with him some issues that concern this people's unity.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] The question concerns the area where the incidents occurred and not courtesy visits to the pope.

[Hudaybi] I did not mean to cast any shadows on the pope's position. But don't you agree with me that if the pope has frequent meetings with us, this would have an impact on our contact with al-Minya and Asyut Copts? Moreover, the MB in al-Minya and Asyut Governorates and in other places does have ongoing contacts with Coptic clergymen and notables. But these contacts cannot be effective and influential as long as the government position prevents them from being so.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Is it possible that the intellectual climate prevailing among the Islamic political groups has created the right soil for every tendentious rumor aimed at national unity? This climate did not exist before these groups surfaced. We used to say this is a patriotic or an unpatriotic Egyptian. The criterion was patriotism, and there was no mention of religion or of religious belonging.

[Hudaybi] I do not agree with what you say. Let us consider the conditions prevailing in Egypt until 1952, particularly from the beginning of 1945 until after the assassination of Imam Hasan al-Banna in 1949. In that period, the MB was most widespread in the cities and villages. The publications and books written by its members were most prevalent in the arena. The MB led the fight against Zionism in Palestine and against the British in the canal. Despite this, no unhealthy feelings surfaced toward our Coptic brothers in Egypt. Rather, the bond, the friendship, the harmony, and national unity grew stronger.

Thus, the incidents that have occurred and are occurring emanate from the absence of liberties, from the suppression of rational tendencies, from the imprisonment and detention of these tendencies, and from the brutal oppression, murder, and imprisonment of the Islamic preachers. This is what has created feelings that were unknown before. It is this and another fundamental matter, namely the foreign interventions which tamper

with this country's fate and which have not encountered a government that confronts them with the proper firmness.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] There is an actual intellectual climate that is nurtured by an endless stream of books and publications whose sole concern is to assault the Copts and their beliefs. Some published books even demand that the Copts pay the head tax in return for their safety. Who finances this activity and what is the objective?

[Hudaybi] The government's emphasis on suppressing the mature, rational, and sound Islamic tendency, its fear of this tendency's strength and of the response it receives from the majority of the people, and the government's inability to create the alternative to replace this tendency, is what has provided the opportunity for the abnormal or immature calls and encouraged some people to respond to them. It is my belief that if the mature and sound tendency were able to move about freely, these other peculiar calls would diminish, most of them would disappear, and they would not encounter acceptance or a void among those who accept them.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Let me be frank. The Islamic tendencies, including the MB in particular—and do not get angry—work to chase away the Copts and block their path in all elections of the trade unions. If the MB supported a list including a Copt who asserts that Egyptians are equal, then you would provide a public national model to all the rejectionist tendencies.

[Hudaybi] I do not agree with the way the question is phrased. Your statement that the MB participates in chasing away the Copts is untrue. What is true is that in their struggle to prove their real presence, the Muslim Brothers did not pay attention to the others, especially to our brothers the Copts. But they have now realized that it is necessary that the Copts participate in unionist action. I know that the MB is taking steps to accomplish this end, God willing.

Here, I wish to state that we do not intervene in unionist action. Union members are the ones who act in matters pertaining to elections or to unionist activities.

Another point—and one thing brings up another—is that Dr. Rifat al-Sa'id has said in AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI that Muslim Brothers who are members of the Doctors Union intentionally hold elections during the Coptic holiday so that Coptic physicians may not attend and vote. This is an untrue fabrication and its maker knows that it does not contain a grain of truth. What is intended by publishing it is to ignite sedition between the Copts and the Muslims, not work for national unity.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] What is the cure for this seditious climate? Is not the responsibility of a single party but of all parties. How do we deal with this situation that undermines the country? What do you propose?

[Hudaybi] The cure is in our return to freedom. We still believe that political reform, especially the guarantee of

public and personal liberties and of the dignity of man as a man who lives assured of his life, property, and his right to express his opinion and thought without fear, is the true inlet to every religious, social, economic, and moral reform, and all other kinds of reform.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Within the context of dealing with the consequences of the sedition crisis, do you propose a declaration signed by all the wise men from all the parties and professions to denounce such conduct?

[Hudaybi] Without any doubt or reluctance I say that we are prepared not only to participate but to urge all the parties concerned to do whatever they can to bury the sedition, foil the plot, reaffirm the unity of the ranks and of the word, and underline national unity. The statement issued by the grand master reaffirms this.

I beseech God to protect Egypt from the evil of this sedition from which only the enemies of this country and of Islam benefit because they depict Islam as violent and abnormal, whereas our orthodox religion instructs us to preach God's path with wisdom and gentle words.

Before concluding the dialogue, I noticed the presence of a copy of AL-YASAR, published by the Grouping Party under the chief editorship of Colleague Husayn 'Abd-al-Razzaq.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Do you read AL-YASAR?

[Hudaybi] Yes, it is published on superb newsprint and is sold cheaply. How do they cover the cost? I have heard that they get their newsprint from Moscow.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] And from where do you cover the cost of your magazines and publications which are even cheaper and are printed on superb newsprint also?

[Hudaybi] I can, if I so wished, raise 10 million pounds from the Muslim Brothers in two days.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] From the brothers at home or abroad?

[Hudaybi] From all the brothers.

### **Liberals Call for Peaceful March, Criticize ACC**

900A0383B Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 26 Feb 90 p 6

[Article: "Youth Secretariat Calls for Peaceful Marches To Burn the Flags of the United States and the USSR and To Demand a Boycott of Their Ships and Aircraft"]

[Text] The youth secretariat of the Liberal Party met last Tuesday under the chairmanship of Farid Zakariyya, dean of youth and vice chairman of the party. He discussed the government's inability to repay \$12 billion in overdue debts and demanded curtailing economic extravagance, receptions, and invitations to foreign delegations.

He discussed the government's misstep of helping the immigration of Soviet jews to Israel across Egyptian

borders, and called for a peaceful march under the protection of security forces. He also denounced the attack on the secretary-general by a police officer in the al-Matariyah district.

Secretary-general Bur'i 'Abdallah talked of a vicious conspiracy against the minister of the interior. He said that certain policemen are plotting to incite grassroots hatred for the new minister by mistreating the population and by [giving the minister their kiss of death] by endorsing him when he received his portfolio. He thanked Captain Hasan al-Kayki for his courtesy at al-Matariyah police station and for his good offices to reconcile citizens in the area.

Fahmi al-Sayyid, youth secretary for Asyut, discussed the accomplishments of the ACC [Arab Cooperation Council] over the past year and concluded that they were negligible and that the ACC was passive.

Sahar Faruq demanded that students be shielded from the kind of police interference to which coeds at 'Ayn-Shams University were subjected last week. She also mentioned that notables were prevented from attending university seminars organized to celebrate International Student's Day.

Ahmad 'Ali, youth secretary for Al-Azhar, discussed domestic policies and the abuse of citizens on public streets. He also thanked Lieutenant Colonel Ahmad Hashad and all officers of al-Matariyah police station for their support of the secretary-general after he was attacked.

Wa'il Safwat discussed the long-range goals of Zionist settlements and called for challenging such organized Zionist conspiracies.

Ashraf Milad, chairman of the foreign relations committee, also participated [in the meeting] by discussing current Israeli policies. He said that Arab rights can be protected only by the Arabs themselves; but where were they when the Israeli state was created in 1948 and where are they now?

The meeting was also attended by 'Ali 'Abd-al-Wanis, 'Ashur al-Jizawi, 'Imad Ahmad, Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, Majdi Tantawi, Badr Muhammad, 'Abd-al-Khalig Hasan, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Mawjud, Shadhili 'Abd-al-'Ati, Sabir Rabi', and Amal 'Ilaywah.

### **Fine Tuning of National Economic Strategy Discussed**

90A40023B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 5 Mar 90 pp 18-20

[Article by Jamal Fadil: "Economic Plan for 1990's"]

[Text] Once again, economic reform is raising its head. This time, it is raising it when it has reached 21 years of age, considering that the talk about economic reform started in 1968 under a different synonym. This time, economic reform is raising its head when the dossier has

inflated and inflated. Last January saw two expanded meetings headed by President Husni Mubarak under the umbrella of the new synonym of the economic reform. The number of issues presented amounted to nearly 20 issues, which were subjected to debate by numerous economic schools that were represented by bank chairmen, ex-ministers, and second-line bank leaderships, in addition to the economic [ministerial] group, of course.

Whatever the interpretations of the motives behind the two meetings, the meetings have urgently presented the need to develop a definite and satisfactory end to economic problems that are becoming more brutal.

The two meetings carried within their folds the features of a national economic plan, if it is agreed that the 1990's may be the final stop and that it is necessary to release the national economy from the grip of the constantly feuding economic schools and to decide on a long-range objective.

This requires, for example, posing three important questions within the context of the plan as envisioned by AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI:

- Do we have an economic policy founded on a single thinking for which proper executive policies are established?
- How can the national economy be liberated and what are the means and the executive steps?
- To what degree can a policy be established? In other words, what are the main axis on which any national economic strategy must be established in the 1990's and how can these axis be executed?

Following are eight visions concerning the first question, all of which agree that there is no such policy.

A most important thing that we lack is an economic policy with clear objectives in order that all centers of responsibility may seek to achieve it. This is not surprising. There is always an obvious difference in the thinking of those who take part in the economic decisionmaking. Somebody may say that difference of opinion on a certain issue is a healthy sign. This may be so when speaking of the means to deal with or to tackle a certain matter or when discussing procedural matters. But economic policy must be founded on clear thinking.

The above are the words of Samir al-Qasri, chairman of the Businessmen's Bank Board of Directors, who added that maintaining the inflation rate at certain limits compatible with our circumstances or promoting investment according to predetermined priorities reduces the maximum economic yield to society or promotes certain exports.

To Dr. Muhammad Fakhri Makki, chairman of al-Zaqaziq University Accountancy Department, economic policy is an expertise system or a system for supporting the economic resolutions. The contents of this policy are

national objectives, analytical models, and decision-making models. It cannot be said that there has been a methodical formulation emphasizing the presence of a national objective for the Egyptian economy. The formulations employed in the five-year plans did not, in most cases, go beyond the phase of political slogans such as doubling the national economy in 10 years, replacing imports, and, recently, exportation. It is important that the national objective indicator incorporate in this regard important considerations that include, for example, the products of the specialized sectors of the economic activity, the product of the various provinces, the income that ends up with the various income groups, and the possibility of product generation and of creating employment opportunities.

There must be analytical models that explain the economic behavior, such as the commodity and service demand tendencies, production, and cost. The absence of these models signifies an economic policy founded on vacuum.

The objective, or national objective, the analytical models, or the economic behavior tendencies are then pushed along courses, which can be called a strategy. A strategy means the adoption of nonrecurrent long-range decisions whose impact extends for long periods of time, i.e., fiscal, currency, credit, production, and investment policies, which should be coupled with tactical decisions that support the strategic decisions and other routine decisions that deal directly with the daily reality of the economic activity.

Egypt's economic policy is, according to Dr. Midhat Hasanayn, head of the American University Business Management Department, a reaction to developments or to instructions. Economic phenomena have had an absolutely free rein, even in the most rigid phases of totalitarianism and of central planning. The signs indicate that the concealed or collateral economy—a manifestation of the flaw in the economic structure—began in the totalitarian planning phase.

The open-door economy phase followed, making it inevitable that economic phenomena in Egypt would be overturned. Central planning did not succeed in controlling the Egyptian economic activity's movement and the open-door economic policy has not been able to channel this movement toward a clear and specific target. Excluding the investment laws, the frameworks and laws previously governing the economy have continued to govern this economy. The Egyptian economic policy is a number of scattered pieces that are tied by no clear ideological line. These pieces have been shifted from a totalitarian planning system to an open system that has no identity and they have settled in a state of inactivity and of reluctant decisionmaking.

There are no clear executive steps for any economic action, adds Dr. Hasanayn. Matters are left up to the executor's interpretation and understanding. If implementation is in bureaucratic hands, then matters become



more complicated. Our condition is like that of a ship piloted by a captain who has no compass and who does not know in what port he will dock or where he will end up.

To Isma'il Siyam, vice president of the National Development Bank, the answer is both difficult and easy. Since we (tried) the open-door economic policy, there have been some recurrent economic phenomena throughout recent years. These phenomena confirm that we have no clearcut vision based on our mainstays. We need more investment. Yet, no steps have been taken to correct the imbalance between the revenues of investment and the revenues of savings. This imbalance is due primarily to the rising inflation, which emanates from the endeavors to correct the exchange rates. There is an ongoing call for reducing imports, regardless of the economic pattern, which we are implementing and which relies on imported raw materials and investment and on semiprocessed goods, not to mention filling the gap in essential goods, such as foodstuffs, for example.

We are compelled to import. Imports cannot be stopped or reduced because there is the normal growth that has to be countered with imports. Yet, we find that there are procedures that curtail the imports in a haphazard manner that is founded on the availability of financial resources and not on economic needs.

We seek to promote exports, whereas, the currency control system continues to be the biggest obstacle impeding the promotion of exports, whether because of procedures, of implementation, of the use of revenues, or of other similar problems. The National Development Bank vice president adds:

We want our relations with the international financing institutions and with the advanced countries to be good and our economic reputation to remain unblemished. But how can we find solutions to our problems that are in contrast with our relations?

If we abandon the system of temporary solutions dictated by the circumstances, then we will be able to draft this policy. Rather, it is inevitable that we will have an economic policy built on a thinking founded on interest and not on the basis of political forces—a formula that has been recently proved to be outdated.

It is the opinion of the chairman of the Egypt-U.S. International Bank's Board of Directors that there is actually an economic policy based on a unified thinking. He cites as proof the fact that we have a five-year plan that necessarily includes specific objectives for the various sectors. The plan must include the policies and the instruments that, clearly, are to ensure the accomplishment of these objectives.

A general economic policy requires subsidiary executive policies. Whereas the observer of the national economic developments feels that there are areas where the implemented executive policies are compatible with the economic policy, he may notice that such policies are not as

clear in other areas. For example, the policies applied in the tourism area and the currency exchange rate area reflect a clear line of the executive policies that have actually born fruit in these areas. On the other hand, there is the land reclamation policy, for example. Despite the efforts made and the thought given to this area, the visible results are not as clear as they should be.

Isma'il Siyam, a member of the advisory committee concerned with the dollar-based bonds, has added that one of the most prominent problems is the evident incompatibility of the executive policies applied to issues that concern more than one sector. A flagrant example is the contradiction that occurs in the designation of certain areas for tourist development. This contradiction ends up producing negative results ultimately, as has happened in the Sahl Hashish area of the Red Sea.

There is, according to Dr. 'Uthman Muhammad 'Uthman, an expert at the National Planning Institute, a very clear separation between the declared objectives and the economic policy stipulated in the state's official documents, such as the 1986-87 to 1991-92 five-year plan, on the one hand and the economic reality with its visible and concealed problems on the other hand. There is a contradiction between the talk about the accomplishments in the various areas and about the government plans and programs on the one hand and the feeling of economic hardship experienced by the citizens and dealt with by unofficial reports on the other hand.

The contradiction is confirmed by the People's Assembly debate on the cabinet statement, which the government submitted last November. The slow examination of the government program reflects not only a lack of [awareness] of the urgent nature of the economic problem, but also the absence of a comprehensive viewpoint. Where, for example, is the government policy to deal with the unemployment issue.

Finally, there is the contradiction between all this and the impression created by the feeling that everything is moving along its planned course and that there is a solution for every problem on the one hand and, on the other hand, the constantly circulated reports about an imminent agreement with the IMF, about the possibility of surmounting the disagreement points, about the arrival of an IMF delegation, about the delegation promises, about continued negotiations, about a meeting by all the cabinet members or some of them to pay a new visit to the IMF or to the World Bank, and so on and so forth.

Taking difficult circumstances into account, the policies applied in the state's economic sectors, in particular, have customarily sought partial solutions to the obstacles emerging in these sectors, according to Dr. Ibrahim Mukhtar, a member of the Egypt-Iran Bank's Board of directors. Thus, laws and regulations were issued to deal with an existing problem. With the absence of a comprehensive perspective, the need always arises for a clear-cut strategy and for plans and policies that are implemented

in phases to achieve certain objectives. This strategy and these plans and policies should take into account the developments and circumstances that might arise in the future and should be flexible and modifiable when any obstacles materialize so that the plans may not swerve from the general objective. It is also necessary that these policies encompass a broader and more comprehensive perspective and that they have a long lifespan, let us say a 10-year span, so that they may strengthen stability.

### **Businessmen Address Trade Imbalance Issues**

90AA0023A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI  
in Arabic 3 Mar 90 pp 24-25

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Fattah Rajab, Alexandria Businessmen's Association chairman: "Alexandrian Ideas To Develop Exports to Threefold Their Current Size"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the government has made and continues to make commendable efforts to eliminate the bureaucratic impediments obstructing exports. This may have resulted or may result in increased exports of five to 10 percent whereas the existing gap dictates that the current exports volume be tripled, at least. The main problem impeding the accomplishment of this objective is the unavailability of a commodity and service surplus to increase the exports. The proof of this is that Egypt does not have a single commodity with a big surplus that cannot be exported. Therefore, we find that the problem impeding increased exports is not so much a marketing problem or a bureaucratic problem as it is a problem of production availability. Increased production in Egypt must be the main objective in order that increased exports may become possible. Efforts must be made to make the national economy more efficient and more capable of achieving high rates of capital accumulation and increased production capacities, which would produce a surplus for export in various goods.

Most countries of the world, such as Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore, have achieved great success in exports not because they have abundant raw materials and natural resources but because most of their exports rely on the conversion industries and the great value these industries add to imported raw and semiprocessed materials through labor, technology, and scientific progress. In Egypt, great attention must be devoted to all the conversion industries that must be encouraged, especially the labor-intensive industries, such as the readymade clothing industry, the electronics-assembling industry, and the leather and furniture industries, in order to promote exports. This dictates that all restrictions on the importation of raw materials, semiprocessed goods, and spare parts be lifted and customs and currency procedures be simplified as much as possible because there can be absolutely no exports without imports. The two represent a complete sector in foreign relations.

The principle of banning the importation of goods to which there is a domestic alternative is a serious principle that leads to the decline in the quality of local

production as a result of the feeling of monopoly and of certainty that the product, no matter how poor in quality, will be sold. While causing the consumer direct harm, this principle does not encourage domestic industry to develop so that it may compete internationally and may create export markets. Contact between imported goods and similar local products leads to improving the quality of local production and will make it exportable someday. We also believe that customs protection for local production should be limited to a set period of time and should not be permanent and that this protection should be established with customs tariffs that are not high and that permit the continued presence of imported goods in reasonable volume.

The idea of limiting the export or import of some goods, or of dealing with certain countries via the public sector, is an idea that emanated from the totalitarian socialist thinking that prevailed at the time when such decisions were made. The justification for the decisions was: As long as one agency is doing the importing in the socialist countries, then a single similar agency must be established in Egypt. In Egypt, this agency has consisted of the similar public-sector companies. But now that this principle has collapsed in the socialist countries, it no longer has any justification in Egypt. We hope that the report published on Wednesday, 7 February 1990, citing the minister of economy on a decision to establish equality between the public and private sectors in foreign trade deals, including equal transactions—we hope that this decision, which has pleased the businessmen, will be implemented immediately.

We wish to emphasize that giving the private sector the same rights as the public sector without any bias toward either is a most important factor in reassuring the private sector and giving it the stability to set forth toward development.

There is no doubt that the creation of a higher export council, even though it would be better to call it the higher foreign trade council, will be a great plus. This council will adopt constructive decisions, if the council members are selected properly from among businessmen who have a broad horizon and a comprehensive and sincerely patriotic viewpoint, if such members constitute the influential decisionmaking majority in the council in order to ensure that bureaucratic concepts will not prevail, and if this council is given the power to make implementable decisions. This is an excellent step in the direction of eliciting the opinions of experts on issues with which they are most familiar.

As a result of the constant progress in scientific research and of inventions in the advanced countries, the developing countries are gradually losing their relative advantages in the world economy. Increased reliance on mechanization and robots is constantly diminishing the importance of manpower in industry and, consequently, the value of cheaper labor in the developing countries. Moreover, the increased production of synthetic materials with characteristics close to those of raw materials

will reduce the need for the raw materials produced by the developing countries. The developing countries will be able to compete with the advanced countries only if they find out the areas in which they can excel and the areas in which they should cooperate with the advanced countries through joint production and marketing. The private sector, if it feels stable and reassured, is capable of attracting investments from and partnerships with the advanced countries and, consequently, of taking advantage of the international development occurring in these countries.

The exportation of Egyptian labor to the outside world can become one of our main exports, considering that in recent years Egypt has become the third-largest labor exporter in the world (after Mexico and Pakistan). There is no doubt that devoting attention to education and training and enhancing the Egyptian labor's standard can create a permanent demand for this labor. This will allow the continued flow of this labor's cash remittances into Egypt and will, at the same time, achieve great progress for the domestic industry.

### Proposals

In conclusion, we propose the need for efforts to achieve the following reforms that increase production, thus making exports possible:

Improve Egypt's investment and business climate. This will be partially accomplished with the following proposals:

- Consult businessmen on whatever pertains to economic affairs and enlist their help in the various studies. It is essential that decisions emanate from the businessmen.
- Inject government business and investment delegations to the outside world with businessmen, as all the advanced countries do.
- It is essential that ministers and high-ranking state officials devote attention to concerted and frequent meetings with businessmen so as to eliminate investment obstacles and economic obstacles generally in order that the main objective may become the prompt elimination of impediments, such as the offhanded tax assessments, the criminalization of an exporter for failing to retrieve value in accordance with form S, the hardship exporters experience with retrieving letters of surety submitted to the customs authorities to ensure the reexportation of goods received on the temporary-permit, (or back door), system. The customs authority accepts an ordinary letter from the public-sector companies or authorities, whereas the private sector has to devote long months to retrieve these letters, thus wasting its time and efforts on fruitless work.
- Eliminate all discrimination in treatment between the public and private sectors and give everybody equal opportunities in all fields so that the fittest may survive.

- Exert efforts to stabilize as much as possible the exchange rates, inflation, and interest rates charged by banks. If change is needed, then it should be introduced gradually and realistically so that stability may develop.

There are major investment problems, such as electricity and water problems, in some of the new cities. The most important problem is the problem of the daily transportation of workers from the old cities to the new cities. In some cities, such as the city of Burj al-Arab, this transportation costs five pounds per worker daily. We propose that the establishment of transportation lines between the various cities and the new cities be encouraged and that the private sector be licensed to operate such lines.

To date, the industrial public sector represents nearly 70 percent of Egypt's total industrial activity. There is no doubt that this sector's production rates are very poor. The situation dictates that no more years be wasted in reiterating the same slogans about reforming this sector's conditions. If reform with the currently spelled out methods were possible, then the countries where the public sector was born would have enacted them to reform this sector and not to let their economy disintegrate. It is better that we be realistic and not waste a lot of time and that we act with all means to increase individual contributions to the said sector because increasing the productivity of 70 percent of the industrial activity is what can increase the surplus available for export, which is what we have been talking about.

Reclaiming Egypt's desert lands and turning the ownership of land to those who cultivate it is a slogan that has been reiterated for years but has not been crystallized. Efforts must be made to realize it because it is one of the biggest hopes for developing the Egyptian economy.

It is necessary to establish a common Arab market for the Arab countries in order to counter the similar international blocs and so that Egyptian exports may be exempted from customs fees levied by Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia at the rate of 12 percent, whereas, only five percent is paid when the same varieties are exported to the European market.

We hope that the minister will bring these ideas to the government's attention in order to encourage Egyptian exports.

### Businessman Views Public Sector, Egypt in World Economy

90OA0371A London AL-HAWADITH  
in Arabic 9 Feb 90 pp 50-51

[Interview with Husayn Sabbur, chairman of Egyptian-American Business Council by Mahmud Salim; "Chairman of Egyptian-American Business Council: Egypt Can Be Rescued by the Private Sector From Its Economic Crisis"; date and place not specified; first two paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Engineer Husayn Sabbur says that 1990 brings with it a number of issues that are yet to be resolved even though they have been debated for dozens of years and even though the lack of resolution would delay reforming and propelling the Egyptian economy and would cause the gap between us and other nations to widen.

A comparison between Egypt and South Korea in the early sixties, for instance, would reveal that Egypt was far more economically advanced judging by per capita income, volume of production, total exports, and other indicators of economic performance. I choose to compare Egypt with South Korea because their circumstances are quite similar. South Korea has as large a population and used to be essentially dependent on agriculture without a developed technological or industrial base. It is also a country with a hostile neighbor to the north—North Korea—forcing it to allocate a considerable portion of its income to the upkeep of a strong and alert army.

[AL-HAWADITH] How do the two countries compare in 1990?

[Sabbur] There is no doubt that [South Korea] has developed and advanced much farther than us because it took diligent action while we are still debating the methodology of economic reform.

It is common knowledge, for instance, that the Egyptian public sector is an economic burden to the state and the return it realizes is disproportionate to the investments involved. The quality of its output is not good enough to export to world markets. Its management style lags behind expectations at this point in the 20th century. Public sector reform has been debated by dozens of committees organized by the state over many long years ago, but their recommendations are yet to be heeded.

At long last, the possibility of selling some public sector units was proposed at the 1989 congress of the Nationalist Party. We are now well into 1990 and the statements on measures for public sector reform are still discrepant. Some [citizens] insist on full state ownership and consider it a renunciation of and deviation from state policies and ideologies to sell public sector units, even those that operate at a loss or the marginal ones that produce goods and services that should have never been the responsibility of the public sector. Others believe that the state should adopt the kind of free market economy practiced in all advanced and wealthy nations of the world. The objective should be better services and more competitive goods even if produced by the private sector. Competition in the interest of the consumer should be free among the country's various economic units regardless of whether they are owned by the public sector, the private sector, or investors. This concept is vehemently opposed by the speaker of the Egyptian People's Council, who is one of the pillars and political ideologists of the Nationalist Party.

I reiterate that we are well into 1990 without a clear idea of what to do about the public sector. We continue to waste time on debates and discussions no reforms are instituted.

I personally believe that the state will find no buyers should it put up some public sector units for sale. Consequently, there is no point in wasting more time on this academic debate. Empirical, practical, partial, and urgent solutions could be instituted to reform the Egyptian public sector by scrutinizing it unit by unit. Domestic trading companies, for instance, are quite different from those in construction or marine transport. Reform measures would therefore vary to suit the targeted activity. Domestic trade companies with major branches could lease some of them to specialized Egyptian or international companies on condition that they do not lay off workers and that they commit to pay the parent public sector company a material return higher than currently realize from those branches. This would result in higher profitability and improved performance. In the industrial sector, it would be possible to contract with specialized managers to operate certain factories provided they are remunerated not in salaries but in sharing with the state, which owns the factories, a negotiated percentage of profits realized through improved management. This is how the problem could be broken down and handled boldly and expeditiously. The tourism sector already presents us with a successful model. Impetus must be given to real development which depends on the private sector. It has been proven beyond doubt that the private sector has a creative potential that has not been unleashed except on a minor scale and that it has made obvious contributions to quantity and quality of output and to creating export opportunities.

The state has constructed new desert cities where more than 95 percent of new factories built over the past 10 years belong to the private sector. The produce of new farms reclaimed from the desert and cultivated by the private sector is beginning to appear in markets. But the private sector, with great faith, still expects the state to remove its fetters and give it needed assurances before it can propel economic development to improve conditions in Egypt.

[AL-HAWADITH] How, in your opinion, can the private sector propel Egyptian development?

[Sabbur] [passage omitted] Frankly, I believe that reforming the public sector is no substitute for unleashing the private sector to propel development in Egypt. Government can not accomplish this merely by proclaiming a five-year plan that gives the private sector an expanding role. Rather, the government must operate as a cohesive team with absolute conviction of the course it pursues. All skeptical officials should withdraw. It is not sufficient that this is reiterated by the president of the republic on every occasion and whenever he addresses the people or speaks to the media when certain



senior officials still impede the private sector and take official actions contrary to public policy.

It is a sorrowful shame that officials decline a Kenyan order for sterilized cotton for which Egypt has been famous since Tal'at Harb built [Egypt's] industrial base at the turn of the century. Meanwhile, the Egyptian-Kenyan trade balance swings in favor of Kenya to which we export almost nothing but from which we import tea and coffee.

It is also a sorrowful shame to hear the president of Cyprus tell businessmen on his recent visit to Egypt that his country has a trade deficit with every country in the world except Egypt. That was cause for great wonderment by the Cypriot president!

Augmenting output and improving it quantitatively and qualitatively require the lengthy time and effort it takes to build a new factory or reclaim new land. Egypt, despite limited raw materials, narrow agricultural area, and large population, can institute a long-range plan to increase industrial and farm outputs and a short-range plan to essentially develop individual services for export to neighboring Arab and African countries and as a substitute for imported services. [passage omitted]

Figures indicate that in 90 percent of all African expenditures for consulting services in the past 10 years went to consulting companies from outside the continent. The same holds true in the Arab world where more than 90 percent of development expertise was imported from outside the Arab League. This is the expertise needed to build electric companies and generating stations, ports, highways, water and sewage projects, telephones, farm development, etc.

Services are not limited to consulting firms. Foreign hotel management companies offer expertise in management and marketing and reap substantial profits from the countries where they operate. Such expertise is not untenable and could be individually acquired if companies were formed for that purpose. [passage omitted]

One can give one example after another of what Egypt can accomplish in the area of services and their exportation, thus reducing government anxiety over the terrifying population growth which would then be turned into a source of output and export. Consider the economic accomplishments of Japan which has a population of some 100 million and lacks even that small measure of raw materials and farmland with which God endowed Egypt.

All this should be accompanied by a modification of Egyptian consciousness. Citizens should be aware of their obligations to diligence, commitment, discipline, and accuracy before they talk of the right to lodging, food, and other privileges. I believe that this issue should receive the attention it deserves from the government and information agencies.

The United States is the largest donor of aid to help Egypt overcome its economic woes, but this is government to government aid. American firms, however, have participated in investment development plans since 1974 and they rank third after Egyptian and Arab investments. Egyptian investment accounts for more than 70 percent. Of course, the size of American investment is disproportionate to American capabilities and the size of its giant corporations. It was the expectation of Egyptian officials that American investment be would be a lot more significant.

The fact is, American investors compare the numerous opportunities available to them and invest in those countries which their feasibility studies deem most appropriate. American investments therefore flow to East Asia and Latin America, and lately to Turkey, despite the diligent efforts of Egypt's investment authority and despite the availability of viable projects and good investment opportunities. American corporations, by gathering information, are quite knowledgeable of the general climate [for investment in Egypt] which they consider to be restrictive. American firms considering investing in Egypt can not excuse a ministerial decree applied retroactively to impact a joint Egyptian-American investment company even though retroactivity is unconstitutional.

Engineer Husayn Sabbur concluded by expressing hope that Egypt would move expeditiously in 1990 along the right path to make up for missed opportunities and to accomplish citizen aspirations for better quality of life in the next century.

### **Columnist Criticizes U.S. on Human Rights, Elections**

900A0383C Cairo AL-MUSABWAR  
in Arabic 2 Mar 90 p 26

[Column by Sabri Abu-al-Majd: "An Open Letter to the American Administration: The Original Perpetrator of the Crime of Soviet Jewish Immigration"]

[Text] I hope the readers will forgive my prolonged discussion of the crime of Soviet Jewish immigration to Palestine because I believe that it, if successful, will be one of the most heinous and vicious of the Twentieth Century. We had previously discussed this crime from the Soviet angle and emphasized that it is a blow to the dignity of the Soviet Union and is demeaning to a country that was once a major power.

Today we discuss how this crime affects U.S.-Arab relations which have undergone unprecedented revival in recent years, despite regression of American support for the Palestinian cause. I would like to begin by emphasizing that we, in Egypt, admire the peoples of the United States and their role in liberating many other peoples in the two world wars. We are also admirers of the American history of struggle for land, unity, and for liberation from British occupation. We, as a people, are also grateful for the material aid we receive from the

government of the United States, even though it is not as much as our debt service to the United States, and even though half of it is dissipated during the round trip between Washington and Cairo.

On the subject of Soviet Jewry immigration, we notice that the United States speaks on human rights with two or more tongues. Jewish rights are one thing, but Palestinian rights, and the rights of all other gentiles, are quite another. We are fully aware of the impact of Zionism on U.S. policy and of the effect of finance, economics, and information—influenced by International Zionism—on the course of affairs within the United States and how all this influences the American voter in Senate and House elections. It is our view that this degree of American policy subservience to Zionist blackmail demeans the United States, propagates its opponents, and negatively impacts its interests.

Let us calmly discuss this human rights issue as a pretext of U.S. policy to interfere in the internal affairs of certain other nations. How do human rights figure when the United States takes advantage of Soviet weakness to force the USSR to relocate thousands—nay, hundreds of thousands—of its citizens in the name of human rights? How would the United States act if others forced it to relocate hundreds of thousands of black Americans on the pretext that racial discrimination exists in some American states?

Let us, against all odds, assume for the sake of argument that the United States is the champion of human rights in this world. Should it, for instance, support one human at the expense of another? How can the United States, which has no possessions, force Soviet Jews to migrate to Palestine which is not a U.S. property? Doesn't this application of Zionist or Jewish rights abrogate the rights of other humans—the Palestinians? Is it the responsibility of the United States to protect the Jewish human rights, no more and no less, even if this means usurping the rights of others?

It may be understandable if the United States—which oozes sympathy and compassion for Soviet Jews who live under harsh and bitter human rights conditions—opens its doors to those Jews, allows them to settle on its soil, and lavishes its funds on them. Or is [the United States], excuse the old popular expression, like a goose—full of love, but with no breast to offer?

We have repeatedly maintained—and so others have before us and will after us—that the immigration of Soviet Jews to Palestine will have detrimental consequences not only on the Palestinian people, but also on the Arab countries as a group since Israeli policy-makers still dream of a Greater Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates. Is the United States willing to write off 200 million Arabs in order to placate a Shamir government that is never content with the support and services it receives from the United States?

I don't have to be an economist to realize that U.S. policymakers fear that peace in the Middle East would

adversely affect the U.S. weapons industry and trade which are of paramount economic importance.

I understand that American Zionist pressure on the United States and administrations is too strong to resist. Any president that defies such pressure will end up either like Kennedy or like Johnson or even Carter!

We, as friends of the American people but not their governments, and as members of the Nationalist Party—the party of Mustafa Kamil and Muhammad Farid—are diametrically opposed in concept and principle to U.S. policy towards us, towards Palestine, and towards the Middle East.

We will not appeal to the United States or entreat it to avenge its dignity muddled by jumping on the Zionist bandwagon. We will not reiterate our assertions that U.S. political positions towards us and towards the people of Palestine and the Arab nations are harmful to its interests as a nation and as a government.

We will only state that the U.S. position towards the heinous crime of Soviet Jewry immigration is totally inconsistent with its pledges as a government and a nation—pledges which several U.S. presidents committed to paper and signed into official documents—guaranteeing that Arab Jerusalem would never be given to the Jews and asserting that Gaza and the West Bank would inevitably revert back to the Palestinians.

According to the minutes I have here of the talks on self-determination among the United States, Egypt, and Israel, the United States is committed against any new settlements in the West Bank or Gaza. I also know, through a single casual meeting, that the American ambassador to Egypt has a full understanding of political conditions in the Middle East, is well versed in its history, and is quite knowledgeable of all strata of Egyptian society thanks to his contacts and strictly personal relationships.

Could Mr. Frank Wisner—a truly honest man—faithfully transmit to the U.S. administration how this Egyptian Arab views its stand on the immigration of Soviet Jewry? I hope so.

To be continued.

#### Columnist Calls for Acceding to IMF Demands

900A0367A Cairo AL-AKHBAR  
in Arabic 21 Feb 90 p 3

[Column by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Mun'im Murad: "Words"]

[Text] A delegation from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is in Egypt now discussing with government officials its plans to reform the Egyptian economy to the satisfaction of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [IMF] whose experts will come next month for the same mission.

I do not see anything wrong with World Bank and IMF experts discussing our economic situation. For so long as we are the ones asking for debt scheduling, for new loans, and also for a certificate of good conduct from these international economic and financial institutions which are the apex of similar institutions throughout the world, there is no objection to these institutions verifying our good conduct. Furthermore, I do not think that the World Bank and IMF experts want to ruin us, that they harbor ill will against us, or that they are digging a well in which to trap us. I am sure that they want us to be discriminating in spending, serious about reform, and determined to raise production so that we may pay our debts and borrow again whenever we need to.

Creditors have the right to ensure that debtors are able to pay their debts. Otherwise, creditors would be thought of as foolish and not eager to get their money back.

The opposition parties are chiding the government for bowing to World Bank guidelines and the truth is that they are not being fair. They can criticize the government for being unable to do without aid and loans. But, to criticize it for complying with World Bank and IMF demands is incomprehensible, unless the opposition is prodding the government to reject these demands, whereupon these institutions will reject our demands, thus placing the government on the horns of a dilemma, internally and externally.

It is obvious that the government intends to comply with the World Bank and IMF demands, or at least with most of them. I do not think that it is a coincidence that Dr. 'Atif 'Ubayd, together with Minister of Economy Dr. Yusri Mustafa, of course, is directing the discussions taking place between us and the World Bank experts, and that the two of them had talked at length in the Consultative Assembly about economic reform measures, about encouraging the private sector, and about correcting the course of the public sector, as the press reported yesterday.

It is our ardent hope that their statements in the Consultative Assembly were not only meant to appease World Bank experts. Indeed, we hope that these statements will actually be put into effect without encumbrance.

#### **Editorial Notes Foreign, Domestic Policy Differences**

900A0367C Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI  
in Arabic 19 Feb 90 p 14

[Article by Dr. Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "Speaking Freely: The President and the Balance of Relations Between the Inside and the Outside"]

[Text] During the last two weeks, Egypt witnessed on its land two conflicting incidents. The first one was the attack on an Israeli tour bus that was travelling on the Isma'iliyah-Cairo road which killed and injured

several passengers. The second one is the major international cultural meeting in Aswan to inaugurate the media campaign for the reconstruction of the Alexandria library. Not a single illustrious world personality invited to the Aswan meeting failed to appear, notwithstanding that the tour bus incident occurred a few days prior to the meeting. This proves, first of all, that international circles view this incident, however dramatic, as a minor occurrence for which Egypt cannot be held responsible and could have happened anywhere in the world. Moreover, the presence of such a large gathering of illustrious persons is indicative, second of all, of the great stock of international appreciation of Egypt's role and leadership. This appreciation is not limited to the moral support expressed by attending the meeting but has rather been translated into material support for the library project. In a few hours after the Aswan announcement, over \$6 million in donations was received.

The greatest import of the whole matter is the close link between Egyptian foreign policy accomplishments, which we have lauded on more than one occasion, and potential accomplishments in the domestic arena.

President Mubarak seems to be fully aware of all the dimensions of this relationship between our foreign policy and the opportunities it presents for domestic construction. The man has expressed his awareness on several occasions, the most clear and manifest of which was during the dialogue he had with some intellectuals during the opening of the Cairo International Book Fair (1 January 1990). Some people had intimated that the president affords foreign policy a large share of his attention at the expense of domestic policy, so the president began citing live examples of how Egypt ought to be led internally, especially in its negotiations with the IMF and the Paris Club concerning loans and development aid, including the active role played by Egyptian foreign policy, and Egypt's good relations with all the countries of the world, the superpowers in particular.

At another point in the dialogue, the president complained about certain conflicting behavior by Palestinian leaders. A person in the audience took this opportunity to engage him in oneupsmanship by admonishing the president for giving too much time and energy to diplomacy on the Palestinian issue. Once again the president magnanimously and firmly replied that Egypt's action in this regard was an Egyptian national duty and a pan-Arab commitment. His words were magnificent and extremely effective, for he retorted by saying that if Egypt does not fulfill this duty and this commitment, who will? And if the Palestinians do not turn to Egypt, to whom can they turn? The president added that his complaint about some Palestinian leaders does not mean that he is fed up with the cause of the Palestinian people, who have made many sacrifices and have been engaged in a long struggle.

This fine distinction between the present conduct of certain elements, or even regimes, in certain Arab countries on the one hand and Egypt's awareness of the



bonds, causes, and interests of the Arab peoples on the other hand, is one of the reasons for Egypt's greatness in its Arab nation and in the eyes of the world. By his words and practices, the president disclosed that he indeed uses a scale closer to the gold scale to balance Egypt's foreign policies with its domestic policies.

Finally, ministers and domestic front officials must comprehend this delicate balance. More importantly, they must translate the dazzling accomplishments of Egyptian foreign policy into real opportunities and accomplishments on the domestic front. For it is amazing how God can send to Egypt a team so competent in foreign policy, and at the same time afflict it with a team so inept in domestic policy, even though the leader of these two teams is President Mubarak himself?

### Columnist Reports Basic Foodstuff Shortages

900A0383A Cairo AL-AHRAR  
in Arabic 26 Feb 90 p 10

[Column by Wahid Ghazi: "Moreover, There Is No Shame!"]

[Text] Soaring prices are a day to day predicament for the masses. The unavailability of goods is a catastrophe for consumers and an embarrassment to the government. Egypt now has a scarcity not only of luxury goods and so-called "provocative goods" which is the expression used by the government to describe banned imports. Basic commodities are also unavailable. Sugar, rice, and flour have disappeared from Egyptian markets. The only thing available is the minister of supply and his senior official as they proclaim the availability of all commodities.

Following is an accounting of Egyptian markets as the month of Ramadan is about to begin:

- 100 percent of the grocers are forbidden to sell free-market sugar, rice, or flour with which their shelves were stacked before the creation of cooperative complexes in Egypt.
- 99 percent of the consumer cooperatives carry none of these consumer staples whatsoever.
- One percent of the cooperatives offer only one staple at a time, alternatively, as a means of decoration. These cooperatives can be identified by long lines at their doors. The goods are offered for sale for the period of only one hour during which the fortunate may buy one pouch of flour provided they also buy a sack of public sector macaroni. With every kilogram of sugar, consumers must also buy two tins of public sector strawberry jam. It seems that Mitqal was inspired by his "Strawberry" song after queuing up at such a cooperative!

If I were minister of supply, I would admit failure and resign after admitting responsibility for this famine knowingly or ignorantly imposed by the government on the Egyptian people.

If Egypt had a parliament truly attuned to the masses, it would have summarily dismissed the minister of supply after putting him on public trial and would have opened the import gates to the private sector in order to flood the market with the basic staples whose importation the government currently prohibits.

But senior officials in various government and legislative agencies are not exposed to the famine created by the minister of supply because he is careful that all those to whom he is accountable get their staples delivered to their doors via so-called "Cooperative Services". As for the rest of the population, let it drink sea water [go to hell] and get frazzled in the quest for a grain of rice, sugar, or flour. Nothing matters as long as the minister remains at his desk making statements that staples are plentiful—plentiful in his house and in the homes of senior officials!

It seems that as staples vanished from markets, shame has also vanished!

### ISRAEL

#### Unilateral Election Plan Said Deceptive

44230093B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 15 Jan 90 p 1B

[Article by D. Margalit]

[Text] There is little more than a slim chance to effect Moshe Arens' drawer plan to hold a unilateral election in the territories. No Palestinian with his head on his shoulders will participate in such an election, and if one could be found, his head wouldn't stay on for long. What began a few months ago as a crude and strategic idea became crusted with flesh and bone and became a drawer plan. It is so childish that it is reminiscent, in its innocence, of the "rotten business" in 1954 Egypt, without the provocation of that time.

Unlike the unilateral autonomy plan, whose implementation depends solely on Israel and could reduce the Arab-Israeli front of friction, an election in the territories is dependent upon the clear support of the Palestinian population. No one will dare enter a polling station that was erected on the basis of Israel's opinion and is defended by the IDF [Israel Defense Force]—for the masked men are still in the area.

Moreover, diplomats in the Foreign Ministry tried to imply and deceive as if they were speaking of a wise course: Arens already knows that the PLO will choose its representatives, but the course of a unilateral election, which appears, on the face of it, as most rigorously against Yasir 'Arafat, is, in actuality, a moderate step. According to this version, 'Arafat will understand that we are speaking of the selection of those loyal to him and that he will appoint them from afar, but will let Israel present them as bold and independent Palestinian leaders who disregarded the PLO-Tunisia.

### An Image of the Basque War

No one will agree. The United States will no longer fall into the Israeli speech trap. They rejected the claim for "security" and "guarantees" from Jerusalem. And Washington is whispering in the ears of every Israeli tourist that Yitzhaq Shamir doesn't want a thing—neither a unilateral shrinking of Israeli rule for the benefit of Palestinian autonomy in the territories nor an international conference in which the Soviet Union is liable to play a positive role, and not even advance talks between the foreign ministers.

The Likud is comfortable with the withdrawal of James Baker from the political process. The basic goal of the Likud is to lower the profile of the intifadah and the level of the conflict. If the United States abandoned its permanent role in the Israeli-Arab conflict and accepted an image in the world of something distant and incomprehensible like the civil war in Cambodia or the Basque's struggle in Spain—then it would be possible to perpetuate the status quo. The Likud is striving for this.

Shamir's primary fear is that the withdrawal of the United States from active political involvement would force the Labor Party to withdraw from the government. It is ashamed that only brutal, external pressure such as this brings some Likud leaders to reflect that perhaps, nevertheless, it is not worthwhile to curb the peace process because of the secondary question of whether they will permit the Arabs of East Jerusalem to participate in the election or if an expelled Palestinian will be invited to the negotiations in Cairo.

But the Prime Minister—usually not an original personality—always invents a good reason and new idea for delaying everything. Once it was the farce of 'Ezer Weizmann, with which he gained a week of status quo. After that, the unnecessary anger toward the science minister over why he met with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze without a local Israeli diplomat. This also gains a day against the peace race. Now, there is the old-new excuse: the countdown for Yitzhaq Rabin has begun, who is in the United States and afterward has a meeting with Likud's center. The main thing is that he not do anything to advance negotiations.

Arens' drawer plan for a unilateral election serves this purpose. It is convenient for the foreign minister and his supporters in the party; it is perceived as hawkish and resolute and divine, such as is loved in Likud's center, that "we will do what we think to be correct, and foreigners will not dictate to us." This is effective against the constraints ministers without leading to a political goal.

But this is not so effective against the Labor Party. We are not just speaking of 'Ezer Weizmann. He paved the way. Now, Shim'on Peres says explicitly that his direction is toward a coalition with the religious parties. It appears that he doesn't even deny that he is prepared to fill their pockets with budgets. Only Yitzhaq Rabin is

still divided between the large coalition and the government crisis, it is only in his power to prevent the erosion. But, his political strengthening following the Weizmann crisis will also have a future price. He will not always be able to work behind Peres' back and not in accordance with the party ministers' decisions, without reporting on the deal designed by him with the Likud.

### Rabin's Red Line

Rabin, too, has red lines. He is for including expelled Palestinians in negotiations, and giving voting rights to the Arabs of East Jerusalem. He will not be able to evade this without gnawing at the image that he built for himself diligently as an authentic politician. Even he cannot depend on his contacts with the Americans on worthless ideas, such as a unilateral election in the territories. Mainly, the source of the suggestion is the office of the foreign minister, and the defense minister has no personal and professional chemistry with Arens. The opposite, a circuit breaker, characterizes their relationship and their mutual evaluation. Rabin, who describes the idea of the narrow government as a joke, will not hesitate to repeat this definition as an imp in the fancy of a unilateral election.

Whoever is still interested in the political process will err if he wastes the energy. Neither the Likud center nor the constraints ministers nor the futile plan for a unilateral election is the main thing. The supporters of negotiations must concentrate on one thing: They must force Rabin down.

### Foreign Service Allegedly Ruled by Politicians

44230093C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 16 Jan 90 p 1B

[Article by Y. Marcus]

[Text] Our foreign service is becoming the defective child of the state. Everyone side-steps it with such contempt or ignores it. Yitzhaq Rabin essentially manages the American department as a head diplomat. Weizmann manages our relations with Eastern Europe, Egypt, and the PLO. Eli Rubenstein fills the role of royal, migratory ambassador, while Peres and Nubiq, as well as Baylin, run the rest of the world. The foreign service has been taken over by politicians.

The names of professional diplomats are mentioned these days only in two connections: When they are left disgraced outside the door of some president or world leader, or when a war of inheritance is waged over their chairs while they are still holding office. Whoever doesn't fit this category in essence doesn't exist. Let's see you quickly name our ambassador in London!

The foreign service was once regarded as one of the most successful things established for the country: "civil service" in the full meaning of the word, with professional diplomats who know foreign languages and are skilled in the interweavings of the vast world, with objective

methods of advancement and strict screening the like of which is found only in flying courses. Rightfully, the fathers of the country were proud, in their Yerhami'elian slang, that this body rose up "out of nothing." Now that we see the big wonder, how is it possible to make something out of this nothing?

When we see, in some context, our diplomats starring in the media and what the wars of the Jews are doing to them, the impression is created that our political echelon will not be silent and will not rest until they ruin this service from top to bottom, as they did to a great many government departments. Because of this, it is not surprising that there are diplomats whose primary interest is the preservation of their departments and in the reinforcement of their stay abroad.

The four most important positions in the foreign service have, in essence, been neutralized by the government. At the United Nations, an international stage whose importance lies in the voice of reason emanating from it, they have still not succeeded in appointing an ambassador. An ambassador sits in Paris, who, if the gossip about him is true, was supposed to be returned a long time ago; if not, he was supposed to be given the backing due him. An ambassador chosen at random, who took the place of Yehudah Avner, a member of Menahem Begin's court who arrived only because he could express Begin's speeches in English, is in London. And, finally, our man in Washington, who got there because Shamir and Peres could not agree on a candidate, and since then have been spilling his blood. Either they ignore him or are suspicious of him or they leave him out or every two months they mention the name of a candidate who is suppose to replace him. In actuality, a situation is being created in which the heads of state have ceased making use of our professional foreign service. If our government makes light of them, why should the countries in which they serve treat them seriously?

One of the primary reasons for this situation is that most of our foreign ministers in the past two decades viewed their role as a bridgehead for a different job. Alon and Peres were foreign ministers, but they were thinking of the prime minister's job. They came with their political cliques; from here, they regarded their professional team as something that they had to live with but not consider too much. The foreign service also serves as a transit station for Moshe Arens, until Shamir leaves. When David Levy replaces him they will be behind him in the Foreign Ministry and his soul and eyes in the prime minister's office. Moshe Dayan concentrated on one subject alone, and the rest of the ministry didn't interest him. That is also how it appears.

Yitzhaq Shamir, a good soul, was indeed loyal to his workers, but was not so much a foreign minister, in that during that same period the important things (peace with Egypt) were already behind him and the rest was run by Begin personally from his office. The last real foreign minister was Golda Me'ir. Even when she held office in the days of David Ben-Gurion, she was very obsessed

with her ministry and protected the rights of its workers. But when she became prime minister she followed the foreign minister (Aba' Eban) by keeping a direct connection with her ambassador (outside the system), Yitzhaq Rabin.

The decline started with the rise of the Likud to power. Begin, like most prime ministers today, concentrated on foreign matters. But, unlike other prime ministers, he treated the American ambassador in Israel as if he were an ambassador of Israel, and totally alienated himself from his ambassadors, Evron and Dinitz. Begin did not rely on ambassadors from MAPAI [Israeli Workers Party]. In fact, the politicizing of the foreign service, which, in essence, is the heart of the problem, began then.

On this plateau, the decline can be divided in two: first, when the Likud discovered the rest of the world and demand arose to staff diplomatic jobs with party workers; second, when the coalition government arose and the war between the two authorities with its characteristic stalemate neutralized the foreign service and created a troubled atmosphere in it. At this time, our diplomats were assigned a dual role: to be present at high-level meetings of Side A in order to report to Side B what really occurred in the meeting; or the reverse; alternatively, to prevent their presence in meetings, so that Side A would not know what Side B concluded. Or the reverse.

As a result of this, diplomats in central locations in essence ceased fulfilling their roles, while in "the rest of the world" more and more political appointments are being made. Our diplomatic representation is now thankless: confusion in the message (it depends on who delivers the message to whom); confusion in reporting (it depends on what the one receiving the report wants to hear), ambassadors side-stepping ministers and ministers side-stepping ambassadors. Those who broke the dishes also broke the cylinder for us.

### Defense Industry To Cancel Projects

44230093A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 19 Jan 90 p 3A

[Article by R. Fedhatzur]

[Text] An update of the IDF [Israel Defense Force] work plan, which concluded this week following the decision on the level of the defense budget, will lead to the cancellation of 300 million new shekels in defense system orders in the defense industry. This comes from details of the plan prepared in the IDF's planning division and other IDF branches.

The IDF was forced to change the work plan for 1990, after it became clear that the Treasury does not intend to compensate the defense system for all of its expenses for the intifadah.

The fundamental decision accepted in an agreement between the treasury minister and the defense minister determines that the size of the defense budget for 1990 will stay at 10.5 billion new shekels (in 1989 prices). The budget decision obligated the IDF to reopen its work plan, which it only recently had presented to government ministers.

After discussions among the General Staff and completion of the planning work in the General Staff's planning branch, it was decided that one of the only possibilities for reducing expenses in the coming work year is the cancellation of projects ordered in defense industry plants or spreading them out over a longer period than planned.

And, indeed, the forces and agencies had to decide on an order of preferences and cancel projects. The reduction in resources for the forces and agencies was effected relative to their share of the budget. The projects to be cancelled are included, for the most part, in the list of IDF alternatives, and the work plan, whose update concluded this week, essentially put an end to the hope of effecting the document of alternatives that constituted the basis for claims of the IDF senior command for the cancellation of the Lavi project.

#### The Decisions Are Random and Political

The decisions that came down in the different IDF forces have still not gone over to the defense industry plants, and in many of these, they are tensely awaiting them. Executives in many plants estimate that the cancellation of projects and postponing the implementation of others is liable to result in further layoffs.

Those same executives expressed great resentment over the decisionmaking process in the defense system. They claim that it is hard to believe that the defense ministry has a general vision of the IDF's future needs, and that the decisions handed down are random and inconsistent.

The share of Israeli ownership in defense plants is continually declining, say executives, and it appears to us that no one in the defense system is aware that we are mortgaging the future of the fighting power for the benefit of decisions that are, for the most part, on a political plateau.

"Only weapons systems developed in Israeli plants are capable of ensuring the IDF the surprises that it will need in the future battlefield. The decisions to cancel further projects, that were accepted this week, make a mockery of the talks on optimal equipping and preparing for the future field of battle," said the same sources.

In the framework of the decisions made this week in the General Staff, it was determined that all funds for the submarine project will not be cut from the 1990 budget. However, a decision on the cancellation of the project was not made, and in actuality, the General Staff evaded a clear decision on this topic. But, this is a temporary evasion, because, by September the Chief of Staff will be

compelled to decide on the future of the project. Up until that month it will still be possible to stop the submarine project without adding costs derived from the contracts with shipyards in Germany and various manufacturers.

Key factors in the IDF expressed fear that this is not the last cut that the Army will have to make this year.

#### Eastward Expansion for Jerusalem Argued

90AE0009A 'Ofra NEQU'DA  
in Hebrew Feb 90 pp 24-25, 37

[Article by: 'Ezra Zohar, professor of internal medicine at Tel Aviv University, senior researcher at the Heller Institute for Medical Research, and author of eight books on medical and political and economic topics; and by Menashe (Moni) Ben-Ari, one of the founders of Kfar Adumim, a geographer and an agronomist, and a past general secretary of the Gush Emunim Settlement Organization]

[Text] The Jerusalem municipality has prepared and submitted to the "Qoberski committee" a plan to expand the capital westward. The intention is to annex to the city about 30,000 dunams on which about 26,000 housing units will be built. The area designated for annexation includes Mevaseret Tziyon, Motza', Ramat-Motza', Ma'on-Tziyon, and three moshavs, Beit-Zayit, Ora, and 'Aminadav, and the area surrounding them.

Municipal leaders argue that there is insufficient land for building within the city's current boundaries, and that expansion westward is the only way to guarantee the city's future. It is maintained in the municipality that any expansion in another direction would upset the demographic balance between Jews and Arabs and between the secular and religious populations. In addition, lands in the west that are designated for annexation—i.e., expropriation for public purposes—are valuable, and, according to well-informed sources, the municipality's treasury understands that "great economic potential for the city" is hidden in them.

Whoever is familiar with Jerusalem, or who contemplates a map of the city, especially anyone who remembers the uncompromising positions of Teddy Kollek regarding the city's future, would be surprised upon seeing the plan and upon hearing the arguments justifying it.

Owing to the plan's far-reaching significance, it is necessary to examine it in detail and to understand its prospects and dangers.

In our opinion, effectuation of the plan would cause grave ecological damage. It would destroy extensive forested areas that make up West Jerusalem's large land reserve, and it would damage Jerusalem's green lungs, in which some of the country's most beautiful views are located. Such damage is inevitable, whether or not city planners acknowledge or attempt to deny as much. One should also not ignore the destruction of agricultural



areas in 'Ermeq Arazim [Valley of the Cedars] and in the three above-mentioned moshavs, which would have to be liquidated. Land that has alternate uses to current agricultural and afforestation uses is necessarily valuable land. It is likely that such land would be "good for the municipality," as its treasurer hastened to indicate, since it would generate high tax revenues. However, this is not a substantial public benefit for the thousands of immigrants and young couples who would be compelled to pay high taxes for apartments in this area.

Before we discuss the main damage that would be caused by the plan, namely, the abandonment of Jerusalem to an Arab majority, it is appropriate to understand its urban significance. Standing opposite the ecological damage and the rising construction costs are many deserted land parcels in the city's east. These lands do not have alternative uses. They are barren hills fit only for urban settlement, as evidenced by the thousands of young couples and evacuees of Jerusalem neighborhoods who found inexpensive housing solutions in Ma'ale-Adumim. Therefore, nothing is preventing the use of these tens of thousands of desolate dunams for inexpensive housing.

Despite Teddy Kollek's opposition, it has long been understood that Jerusalem's future is in the east. It is no coincidence that Israel's government, when the Labor alignment was still in power, established Jerusalem's main industrial zone there, in the Ma'ale-Adumim area, which extends over an area of 6,500 dunams. There is no truth to the claim made by Kollek and those who share his opinion that areas on the other side of the Green Line cannot be annexed to Jerusalem without changing its demographic balance. Most of the area between Ma'ale-Adumim and Pisgat-Ze'ev is (so far) uninhabited. Annexing it to the city would add a small Arab population to Jerusalem. Another area whose annexation to the city is sought, and which also contains a small Arab population, is northwest of the city, extending from Ramot to Giv'at-Ze'ev and Beit-Horon by way of Mt. Shmu'el. Passing through this area is the northern highway connecting Jerusalem to the coastal plain (the ancient route of Yehoshu'a Ben-Nun, the Maccabees, and the Romans). The importance of this highway is highlighted in the light of the fact that the Sha'ar Hage' highway is becoming increasingly clogged owing to the traffic load, and the day is not far when its situation will resemble that of the Geha Highway.

The necessary conclusion, according to the required criterion, is that Jerusalem can only expand eastward. Only to the east are there land reserves of the size needed to accommodate the next generation, reserves which have no substitute west of the city. Moreover, there is a broad national consensus regarding this area, and there is no disagreement as to its political and security importance.

There is no limit to what talk and semantics can do. In theory, it is possible to afforest the entire area up to Sha'ar Hage', or Lod, and call it "Jerusalem." However,

this would not be grounds for changing the geographic fact that Jerusalem's center is the Temple Mount, the spiritual center of Israel's capital, and necessarily its physical center. The areas whose annexation is being recommended by Teddy Kollek are located about 10 km in a straight line from the Temple Mount, whereas Ma'ale-Adumim is only 5 km from it. The eastern boundary of the city currently passes about 2 km from the Temple Mount. Leaving the border at such a short distance constitutes a political danger on the one hand and a disturbance of the city's urban balance on the other. The mountain ridge extending from the Mount of Olives northward to 'Atarot is a vital area not only for Jerusalem, but also for all of western Israel. The same is true regarding the axis between Tel Aviv and Beit-Ha'arava via upper Beit Horon, Bimat-Giv'on, and Ma'ale-Adumim. This axis is not only a main approach to Jerusalem, it is also the most important latitudinal axis in all of Israel.

However, more serious than anything is the fact that the "Kollek plan" advances the Arab plan, whose essence is to close the city on three of its sides and to return it to its pre-1967 situation of being a divided city at the end of a dead end. This plan is already being applied at present and is gaining momentum. Ramallah is quickly spreading southward toward Jerusalem. In the east, along the main highway to Jerusalem, and in the west, toward Baytuniya, it already reaches the vicinity of Giv'at Ze'ev, a suburb of Jerusalem. In the east of Jerusalem, there is a contiguous block of Arab settlements from the northern neighborhoods of the Old City, southward through al-Tur and Kfar Hashiloah [Silwan] to Abu-Dis and 'Azarya. Bethlehem and Bayt Jalla constitute a barrier to the city's southern expansion. From there, one can see to the north the beginnings of construction along the mountain ridges. This stranglehold can still be stopped by a large-scale eastward breakthrough from French Hill and Pisgat-Ze'ev in the north to Ramat-Rahel in the south. If this is not done quickly, Jerusalem's destiny and future will be determined by the Arab plan, and contiguity between Jerusalem and the Jordan Valley, on which a national consensus also exists, will have been broken. Such a development would also be a recipe for the creation of an Arab majority in Jerusalem, which has not existed for hundreds of years, even under foreign rule.

Even if the government does not soon declare the extension of its jurisdiction to East Jerusalem, as it is should, comprehensive plans should be prepared immediately for settling the city's eastern periphery to ensure, among other things, a Jewish majority in the capital in the next generation. Jewish Jerusalem has no future without its suburbs, Giv'at-Ze'ev and Ma'ale-Adumim.

In conclusion: The natural area of expansion of Jerusalem is eastward, and its new neighborhoods should be built there. Kollek's plan to expand the city westward, in addition to the urban distortion it would create, would be a political disaster, because it would transform Jerusalem into a city at a dead end, thus enabling the Arabs to

surround it from three sides, thereby breaking its contiguity with the Jordan Valley, and laying the groundwork for an Arab majority in Jerusalem.

#### [Box, p 37] What Motivates Teddy?

Since Jerusalem's new borders were fixed in 1967, Teddy Kollek has stubbornly argued against building on the city's circumference or in its environs, because that would weaken the city's Jewish base. The mayor argued for the need to build in existing neighborhoods. He strongly opposed the establishment of Gilo and Ramot, ostracized Ma'ale-Adumim, and did not agree to the annexation of Mevaseret-Yerushalayim. His argument was always that sufficient land suitable for construction exists within the city. How is that he is currently studying a plan to expand the city westward? Have building possibilities been exhausted inside the city? Not in the least. In Pisgat-Ze'ev and on the Shu'afat ridge, it is possible to immediately build more than 10,000 housing units. Extensive areas of land are also located in the southern part of the city, around Gilo and Ramat Rahel, which would also suffice for about 10,000 apartments. If we add other empty areas in the city, which are suitable for building, we easily reach 30,000 housing units inside the city, i.e., more than the quantity of units that could be built, according to the municipality's plan, in the area that it wishes to annex. Hence, about 120,000 persons could be absorbed within the city's present boundaries. It is difficult to understand what is motivating Kollek to recommend a plan whose damage would be greater than its advantages from every possible standpoint.

#### New Settlement in Gaza Strip

44230106D Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 11 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Dani Tzidkoni]

[Text] At the end of the month the leaders of Gar'in [settlement group] Dugit will arrive at their settlement point in the northern part of the Strip. In the first stage, until their homes are built, they will live in trailers. The final location of the settlement, which will take up an area of 200 dunams, is west of the Arab town of Bayt Lahiyah, about three kilometers south of the Green Line and about a kilometer from the sea. The settlement's livelihood is supposed to be from sea sports, tourism, and fishing.

The members of the gar'in, which is affiliated with Amana—the settlement movement of Gush Emunim—are fishermen who organized themselves several years ago with the aim of establishing a village. After not being given a site at Hofiya, they accepted the proposal to go to Gaza. At first, the village was to be established in the vicinity of the Shati refugee camp, but it was the Ministry of Defense that determined its present location. The new settlement will be one of three Jewish settlements (Aley Sinai and Nisanit) in the northern region of the Strip.

The Nof Katif Hotel will be up and running again on the 24th of the month, in preparation for its official opening during Passover. As will be recalled, the hotel, which belonged to the economic company of the Gush Katif settlements, was closed due to the intifadah, and sank into heavy debt. The Settlement Department recently signed an agreement on its transfer to a family of entrepreneurs from Jerusalem and on its reopening. Along with the preparations for its reopening, a sea wall was built at the water's edge, after it was found that the sea was damaging its foundations.

#### New Immigrants Gravitate to Big Cities

44230093D Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 16 Jan 90 p 1B

[Article by A. Efrat]

[Text] The growing immigration to Israel and that which is expected in the next two to three years (between 100,000-150,000 immigrants) are liable to be a significant factor in the change of the population distribution in Israel, in contrast to the forecasts of those who shaped the distribution policy for the mid-'90s and early years of the 21st century. If up until now the absorption of immigration was more or less controlled, and immigrants were first transferred to absorption centers and from there distributed after a while to the corners of the country in accordance with population targets and planned housing inventory, now, since the flow of immigrants has exceeded the capacity of the employment and housing base and direct absorption has begun, the course of population distribution in the State is changing its direction.

#### First Settlement Destinations

From the data on immigration to Israel compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics for 1988, it becomes evident that close to half of all immigrants and potential immigrants (12,071 people), whose destinations were known, turned to the three big cities—Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa. Twice as many (2,415) went to Jerusalem as to Tel Aviv. Four other cities that absorbed a relatively large number of immigrants were: Beersheba, Netanya, Ra'anana, and Ashdod.

If we calculate the proportion of immigrants in '88 who went to Gush Dan, bordered by Hertzeliya in the north, Rishon-LeZiyyon in the south, and Petah-Tiqwah in the east, we will find that approximately one-quarter of all immigrants settled in this region—most of them in Tel Aviv and Ra'anana, and the remainder in Holon, Bat-Yam, and Kfar-Saba'. If we expand the examination of the settlement range to the central coastal plain, between Hederah and Gederah, we will find that approximately one-third of all immigrants went there in the same year. Aside from the cities in Gush Dan, the cities of Netanya and Rehovot also stood out in their absorption of immigrants. Less than 12 percent of the immigrants went to development towns, and Beersheba, Ashdod, and Ashqelon absorbed more than half of them.

Other attractive development towns were: Karmi'el, Upper Nazareth, and Migdal Ha'emeq. The region of Judaea and Samaria did not have a numerical significance in the absorption of immigrants.

In contrast, settlement destinations of immigrants in the nine months from April to December 1989, with the encouragement of direct immigration, which enabled immigrants to choose their own accommodation destinations, were very different. On the basis of Jewish Agency data regarding 12,328 immigrants absorbed through direct absorption in this period, it is clear that even now the three big cities were the primary absorbers, but Haifa (1,239) absorbed more than Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The city with the second largest absorption was Netanya, and with Haifa and Tel Aviv, they absorbed half of the immigrants in this group. Other cities that stood out in settlement destinations were Holon, Bat-Yam, and Rishon-LeZiyyon. In Gush Dan, 40 percent of the immigrants were absorbed in this period, and the more peripheral cities, such as Petah-Tiqwah and Kfar-Saba', also stood out. Settlement on the central coastal plain this time reached 60 percent of all immigrants.

In direct absorption in development towns there was a significant decline: only 13 percent of all immigrants; but, this time, as well, Ashdod, Ashqelon, and Beersheba were the primary absorbers, with two-thirds of all immigrants in this category. Direct absorption in Judaea and Samaria reached only 0.4 percent in the same period: 27 immigrants in Ari'el and 8 in Ma'aleh Edomim.

### The Significance of the Preferences

What can be learned from the settlement destinations of the immigrants in a direct-absorption situation?

- The immigrants prefer cities over villages, and established cities on the central coastal plain over cities in the periphery. The three big cities are the most desired and, after them, the older, populous cities of Netanya, Ra'anana, and Rishon-LeZiyyon or the sister cities of the Tel Aviv cluster, such as Holon and Bat-Yam.
- Gush Dan and the central coastal plain are preferred over the mountain, Galilee, and the Negev.
- If there is settlement of immigrants in development towns, it is effected only in the larger and more successful ones, such as Beersheba, Ashdod, and Ashqelon in the south, and Upper Nazareth and Karmi'el in the north.
- The immigrants do not tend to settle in the territories.

It appears that the immigrants have prior, reliable information on the preferred regions and communities for settlement from the aspect of employment possibilities, physical base, standard of dwellings, standard of services, and proximity to the center of Israel, and the strong tendency is to settle in the populated and developed places.

If the settlement data of the past two years represent the nature of the anticipated waves of immigration for the coming two years as well, then the conclusion is that, in fact, the opposite tendency from the policy of population distribution of the Government of Israel is occurring.

In view of this new phenomenon, it would be futile and illogical to continue to encourage shallow determinations regarding the population distribution in Israel toward the mid-90s and first part of the next century, which are taken from the official publications of the Ministry of the Interior. For example: "43.5 percent of the country's population will be in the periphery in 1992, and 45.6 percent in 1995"; "Bene-Beraq, Ramat-Gan, Givatayim, and Bat-Yam are expected to grow by 6 to 14 percent, and Ramat-Hasharon by 23 percent"; "Qiryat-Shemona will grow at a rate of 115 to 120 percent, Shlomi by 140 percent, and Qatzrin by 150 percent"; "The Tel Aviv district is expected to have the smallest growth of all districts in the country"; "Mitzpe Ramon will grow by 500 percent, Qiryat-Mila'khi by 45 percent, Yeruham and Sderot by 95 to 110 percent."

Similarly, the time has come to totally change the destinations of population distribution in Israel, on the basis of the present reality and the tendency that is indicated by the settlement of immigrants in the early '90s.

These immigrants will be, undoubtedly, the primary factor in changing the arrangement of settlements in Israel in the future, in the population growth and its distribution, and thus, we must have reservations about the old planning perceptions and prepare more realistic population plans which will emphasize the center of the country as the destination of settlement for immigrants in the coming era.

### New Tehiya MK Ha'etzni Profiled

44230106F Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ  
in Hebrew 6 Feb 90 p 2b

[Article by Nadav Shraguy: "A Conditional Democrat"]

[Text] It happened to the prime minister exactly a year and a half ago, at the settlement of Na'ale, precisely on his home turf. Yitzhaq Shamir stood up suddenly, and the security men tensed up. With a tangerine in his hand, and trembling with anger, Shamir screamed at Elyaqim Ha'etzni, "Go to hell! Go to hell! Get out of this room!"

Shamir's election visit to the settlement of Na'ale made headlines because of that incident. Shamir had expected a warm reception, but Ha'etzni spoiled the celebration for him, and arrived and attacked Shamir for the Likud's not establishing new settlements any more. The prime minister was enraged by the event, and rejected all attempts at conciliation, saying to his hosts, "I hate him, hate him. This man embodies destruction, devastation, catastrophe."



Elyaqim Ha'etzni, an MK [Knesset member] as of last Wednesday, has one sole nightmare. He dreams about it at night, breathes it during the day, and lives in its shadow. In his imagination, as he testified once, Ha'etzni sees the disaster of the approaching withdrawal from the territories, and he swears, "As long as I breathe, this is my mission in life, to prevent that disaster." The high tones that accompany his arguments are his hallmark. With clever formulations and polished rhetoric, he succeeds in winning over many and in frightening many others. "He is by nature a soloist, an intelligent man, and a wonderful speaker," says one of the leaders of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, who actually takes exception with him.

The title "Prophet of Destruction" stuck to him, and not for nothing. "He really is a prophet," says one of his acquaintances. "A prophet of destruction, many of whose forecasts materialized—for example, the evacuation of the Sinai.

"He is very logical, and even impressive in his ability to analyze and predict," the man continues. But even those who are acquainted with him at first hand, in the Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Council and in Gush Emmunim, can't tolerate such apocalyptic forecasts made with such obsessiveness. After all—how long is it possible to view life as all black all the time? Most of his life now is the war for the Eretz-Yisra'el. Long before the "State of Judaea" arose, Ha'etzni came out with a similar idea. "If the State withdraws the army, the police, and the Israeli administration from Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, there will still remain tens of thousands of Jews, and perhaps they will be joined by many thousands from Israel and the Diaspora," Ha'etzni wrote in 1985.

"These Jews," Ha'etzni believes, "will be completely unencumbered by the government's concession. Their affiliation will be only with the land, and not with the state that turned its back on them and the land. For even if the State of Israel descends from the mountains of the Heights of Israel, it will not be able to compel the Jewish individual to go down with it." In "The Shock of the Withdrawal in the Eretz-Yisra'el," he argued: "Jews in the State of Israel will oppose the withdrawal in one way or another, and we pray that the opposition will not be violent, and that, heaven forbid, the greatest of calamities will not be visited upon us—a civil war....As for the Jews who will remain in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza after the withdrawal, and who will not go out to a third exile, they are likely to have no choice but to create a new experience, an experiment that we have not yet experienced and with which we will have to cope: Jews living in Eretz-Yisra'el, but cut off from the State of Israel.

"How long will such a separation last until the IDF [Israel Defense Force] is forced to return, in order to prevent a 'super Sabra and Shatila' of Arabs against Jews? Or of Jews against Arabs? Or both? How long will an Israeli Vichy government last in a post-withdrawal Israel? What will be the relations of the Jewish entity in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza with the State, on the one

hand, and with Diaspora Jewry, on the other hand? Will the State of Israel and Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza compete for the hearts and pockets of Exile Jewry? Will a different Jewish life-style develop in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza?...Or, perhaps, an earthquake that is liable to bury beneath it many homes in Israel, and not only physical homes, will be prevented at the last minute?"

In about the same period and in the same vein, following a fire-breathing speech, Ha'etzni led the Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Council to adopt a resolution that put the State into an uproar. The decision referred to the possibility that territories would be handed over within the framework of a political settlement, and Ha'etzni said, among other things, "We will relate to any government in Israel that commits one of the aforementioned crimes as an illegal government, as De Gaulle acted towards the Vichy regime of Marshal Petain, which betrayed the French people....We resolve to warn Prime Minister Shim'on Peres of the serious consequences of the plans that were published, by bringing proof that the partition of the land and of Jerusalem will of necessity bring about the splitting of the people." The legal advisor to the government at the time, Yitzhaq Zamir, gave a sharp warning against the resolution. There was also an outcry from the settlers. Under tremendous pressure, the Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Council retreated, and after three days it published a retraction.

Yo'el Bin Nun attacked Ha'etzni in NEQUDA: "The arguments of Elyaqim Ha'etzni, who has much to his credit in the legal foundations of the settlement in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, are similar to those of an airplane hijacker with an unloaded pistol....Do we really deceive ourselves that Peres does not know that the pistol is not loaded?...That doesn't frighten Peres. It only frightens the public, and gives our opponents ammunition against us gratis." Ha'etzni retorted: "It is a commandment and an obligation to cry out and to frighten....Whoever calls for quiet and tranquility is aiding the theft of Eretz-Yisra'el from us....It is necessary to disagree completely with the thesis that the state is sacred and that the decisions of a democratic majority must be honored under any circumstances. On that issue, we have partners on the left."

Ha'etzni believes that when the day comes, the people of Israel will not remain hidden in their homes. He expressed this great hope in a unique way in the chapter, "Postscript," which closes "The Shock of the Withdrawal from Eretz-Yisra'el," by serving up to his readers a summary of Prof. Yosef Klausner's article, "The First Pogrom and the Image in the Temple." He wrote: "An edict was issued by the Roman Emperor Caligula that his image be placed in the great Temple in Jerusalem. This edict was to be carried out by Petronius, who was to take with him half of the Roman army that was camped on the Euphrates for suppressing any uprising and to place the image in the Temple by force. This became known in Eretz-Yisra'el, and it aroused the Jews more than anything else could....The terrible rumor spread as fast as

lightning in Judaea, and all the people trembled....Apparently, there were persons who conducted propaganda vigorously from the end of the winter until the beginning of the harvest, arousing the people. At the beginning of the harvest, thousands of Jews poured in from all corners of Eretz-Yisra'el, from the cities and from the villages, and a great multitude stood before Petronius and his astonished soldiers. Soon one terrible wail broke out from the great camp that frightened even the noble Roman Petronius.

"The great multitude," Ha'etzni continues to quote from Klausner's article, "fell upon their faces and begged for mercy for their Temple. We have not come to fight, but there are only two alternatives: either to set up the image or to wipe out the people of Judaea to the last soul. Here are our necks, stretched out for the slaughter, and our souls to the killers. Only after not even one of us remains will the edict of Gaius Caligula be carried out. The Roman's heart was moved. Thousands of swords were in his hand, and they had nothing. Nevertheless, he felt that he was helpless before the great force that was revealed in this multitude! For 40 days, thousands of Jews camped out in the open air, stretched out on the ground, waiting for Petronius to carry out the evil edict." Thus, Ha'etzni wants to show the people of Israel that, when the day comes, and until that happens, he will continue to struggle, to cry out, to frighten, uncompromisingly. The media are one well-marked and very central target in Ha'etzni's long campaign. Only one week ago, he devoted an article to Rafiq Halabi, following what Halabi himself had written in NEQUDA.

Within the framework of ELISHA', Citizens for Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, which he established six years ago, he publishes hundreds of information sheets, sends complaints to the police against journalists who, in his opinion, deviate from the law or from proper behavior towards the state, and bombards the legal advisor to the government with complaints against Arabs who identify with the PLO. He even debates at length, now as a jurist, with the chief military prosecutor, Brigadier General Amnon Strashnov, on the subject of shooting by citizens in the territories. He inspired the publication of a notice signed by dozens of jurists, some of them well-known, on behalf of the Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza Council, "To the Resident Traveling or Touring on the Roads," with the headline "Know your rights and duties when confronted by stone-throwers." The letter contradicted the instructions of the military on several points, but that did not prevent the jurists from standing behind it.

Within the framework of ELISHA', two years ago Ha'etzni published the pamphlet "Israel Broadcasting—A Profile of Political Demoralizing." Ha'etzni argues that the journalists of the Broadcasting Authority adopt almost automatically the terminology, arguments, and style customary among the left-wing parties and the enemies of Israel. He has submitted complaints against many journalists. One that comes to mind especially was against the television reporter Victor Nahmias, on the grounds that he had put the screen at the disposal of the

PLO in an interview that he held with the journalist Ziyad Abu-Ziyad. Elimelekh Ram, Ehud Ya'ari, and Karmit Guy also were not spared the whip of his criticism. He once wrote of Dan Shilon, following things that the latter said on the international conference: "Dan Shilon, who does not try in the least to hide his opinions, speaks pessimistically about Shamir regarding the international conference. This is a sophisticated way, sharper than sharp, to get a biased message across." "Pessimism," writes Ha'etzni, "is not a winning characteristic. In truth, Shamir is not pessimistic regarding an international conference. He sees in it a land mine. It's a trap! Had Dan Shilon rejected the proposal to swallow a cyanide pill as 'medicine,' he would have found a more appropriate word for that than pessimism."

Ha'etzni was born in 1926 in the city of Kiel, in the German province of Schleswig-Holstein. His family left Germany at the very last minute (1938). Hitler was already in power. He was the last Jewish child in a school in which members of the Nazi youth studied. His German teacher also served as the head of the Nazi party in the district, and used to force him into public debates with teachers and pupils on various and varied subjects. Thus, he was forced to explain why Jacob did a job on Esau. There, he testifies, he acquired for the first time his ability to argue. He related this week that in his memory is still etched the picture of the burning synagogue in the district of his childhood on Kristallnacht. According to him, this is his strongest childhood memory.

In Jerusalem, Ha'etzni studied in a religious school, and afterwards in the Lifschitz religious teachers' seminary. He graduated with the first law class of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in the 1950's he joined the Line of Volunteers, an organization that took as its goal the eradication of the corruption of the establishment and aiding in the absorption of immigration. In those days, Amos Ben-Gurion sued the "Line" for libel, and the public became aware of Ha'etzni for the first time. At a later period, he lived with his wife and four children in Ramat Gan, and in 1972 he moved to Qiryat Arba', where he now lives.

The Knesset, without a doubt, will be more interesting in the Ha'etzni period, but also more violent in the verbal sense. Last year, they thought in Tehiya that Ha'etzni would arrive at the Knesset right after the elections. The surveys were encouraging, and they expected to win eight seats. The relative lack of color that characterized the activity of the Tehiya faction in the previous term created among the members a yearning for more parliamentary struggles at the side of the unflagging Ge'ula Cohen. Tehiya activists wanted a trenchant and diligent Yosi Sarid of their own, and Ha'etzni was chosen first after the four safe places on the list. Efrayim Ben-Hayim and Ezra Sadan, who come from the labor movement, and who do not live in settlements, were pushed down into unreal places, even though the leadership in the safe places supported them. By the way, last week Sadan found himself a candidate for expulsion from Tehiya by

Elyaqim Ha'etzni, immediately after he had participated in a forum in which Faysal al-Husayni also participated.

Ha'etzni's position in the Judea, Samaria, and Gaza Council is stronger than ever. Today he is a member at the head of the political forum of the council, and in other bodies of the council. The knitted yarmulkes of the "Center of the Rabbi [Kook]" never liked Ha'etzni, but always respected him. It was a bit hard for them with Ha'etzni the agnostic, but they always take pains to note his contribution to the solution that Pleya Albeq found to the problem of the lands in the territories, a solution that made it possible for the State to get hold of hundreds of thousands of dunams. Ha'etzni will certainly make a lot of noise and headlines, but the real test will be on the next election day, when Tehiya will stand up before the right-wing voters. Today, its situation is rosy. Tzomet and Moledet are enjoying rising popularity. Ha'etzni will try to get the color and the Knesset seats back for Tehiya.

### SHAS Working To Win Israeli Arabs

44230106E Tel Aviv 'AL-HAMISHMAR  
in Hebrew 7 Feb 90 p 7

[Article by Avner Regev]

[Text] The head of the Center for Strategic Studies, Aharon Ya'ir, asked at the end of a lecture given at Tel Aviv University whether it could be understood that a solution for municipal problems in the Arab sector would not solve the problem of the identification of Israeli Arabs. The question was tossed into the air, with the apparent intention of pointing to the phenomenon that is becoming noticeable in the Israeli Arab public and is now in full swing—Palestinization. This phenomenon, which is spreading like wildfire, and is not leaving empty fields behind, is not the only one. At the same time, the strength of the Islamic movement, which serves as a refuge for many, is growing.

The increase in the strength of the Islamic movement is also causing internal power struggles, which have recently been reflected in the replacement of the leadership and in a change in the status of various figures.

Quiet but intensive activity has been undertaken in recent months in the Arab sector by the SHAS [Torah Observing Sephardim] movement. As strange as it may seem, there is agreement and understanding on many subjects, mainly those connected with religion, between the spiritual and political leadership of SHAS and figures in the Islamic movement and among the spiritual leadership of the Druze community in Israel.

MK [Knesset member] Ya'ir Levi of SHAS, who vigorously opposed the party's activity in the Arab sector, is now among the leaders of the move to rapprochement, together with Minister Arye Dar'i and with the blessings of Rabbi 'Ovadia Yosef. During Rabbi Yosef's visit some weeks ago with Shaykh Amin Tarif—the spiritual leader of the Druze community—Minister Dar'i and MK Levi stated that "the honorable Rabbi has made

history." That occasion testifies to the significant change in SHAS' attitude to the Arab sector.

As minister of the interior, Arye Dar'i has recently taken many actions to improve the situation of Israeli Arabs, especially in the municipal sector, for which he is responsible. Dar'i is open to the Arabs' requests, and his responses are generally to the point and void of prejudice. MK 'Abd-al-Wahhab Darawishah even stated recently in a closed forum that Minister Dar'i is the best interior minister that the Arabs have had since the establishment of the State. It is reasonable to assume that Dar'i's actions stem from his respect for religious figures of any religion. There is a place for Islam, as there is a place for Judaism, and those who observe their religion should be respected. This, in any event, is the justification that is given for SHAS' activity in the Arab sector, and recently it is the justification that is given for the assistance to the heads of Arab municipal councils that are close to the Islamic movement.

The hope is expressed in SHAS that the actions of Minister Dar'i and MK Levi will win the support of Arab voters in the elections to the Knesset, when they are held. And even then, only if the Islamic movement decides not to run in the elections to the Knesset. The heads of SHAS are relying on the previous support given to the NRP [National Religious Party] by many Arabs, when the latter party controlled the Ministry of the Interior, and they understand that now, when the NRP has moved to the right on the political map, it is no longer able to serve as the recipient for votes. In contrast, SHAS—whose leaders occasionally express moderate opinions on political subjects, which are accompanied by actions in the field that have budgetary backing—may win the votes of Muslim believers. In that way, the Muslims would highlight their nonsupport for the Zionist parties and the extreme parties in the Arab sector.

On many subjects, the Islamic movement is imitating SHAS. Its activists are involved mainly in social, welfare, and educational matters. They view the development of the places where they reside as a central goal, and they invest a lot of money in bringing as many believers as possible back into the fold. Thus SHAS is a party image with which the Muslims can identify.

SHAS leaders believe that Minister Dar'i's approach, which is reflected in giving to the Arab sector without an immediate quid pro quo, will pay off in the future in the form of Arab support for SHAS. This may bring the party between one and two seats in the coming Knesset elections.

The minister of the interior has been active recently in granting approvals, which are necessary for receiving municipal status, to the large villages. The first city will be Tayyibah, in the Triangle, and in line after it are the villages of Tirah, Tamrah, and Sakhnin. As is known, this also has budgetary aspects, in addition to the sought-after title.

MK Ya'ir Levi, who for several years headed the "El Hama'ayan" [To the Well] Society, which is affiliated with SHAS, and which was involved in educational and welfare issues, serves—together with the society—as an example for the Islamic movement. The latter is now examining the establishment of a similar society, which would be involved in identical issues. The idea is also acceptable to the men of SHAS, who have not ruled out the possibility of assistance.

SHAS, as was mentioned above, is ready to broaden its activity in the Arab sector. This requires a somewhat different political set-up, and the NRP's political deployment serves as a model. And, in fact, there is no reason for the Arabs not to vote for SHAS. The disappointment with RAKAH [New Communist List] and the communist world, the inability of the nationalist and extreme nationalist movements—such as the parties of Mi'ari and Darawishah—to crystallize a large force around themselves, allows SHAS to play on emotion and religion, and in that way to try to garner support in the Arab sector.

Changes in personalities and ranking are now proceeding within the Islamic movement. Within this framework, various figures are now changing positions, and there is no reluctance to criticize this or that activist, whatever his position. The sharpest criticism is directed towards the head of the Rahat municipal council in the Negev. This head was elected for the Islamic movement, and serves as its senior representative to the Negev Bedouin, but is not meeting expectations. It is not difficult for him to grapple with the position, and his unsuitability is reflected in the management of the council and in the area of employment. There are even discussions within the movement about the possibility of replacing him, in order to prevent unpleasant situations in the future, before the elections.

The discussions that are now being conducted in the Islamic movement, regarding the decision whether to run in the elections to the Knesset, are creating great tensions between the members of the movement. Many are arguing that participation in the elections implies recognition of Israeli sovereignty. This argument reflects the position of many in the movement, who call for voting for other parties. If the movement indeed refrains from participating in the elections, then SHAS definitely has something to build on in the Arab sector.

The rise in the strength of Islamic fundamentalism and the growing strength of the Jewish ultra-Orthodox parties in Israel are liable to drag the region into the situation where the war over borders that is now raging will become a religious war between Judaism and Islam. It is, perhaps, noteworthy that the attack on the bus in Egypt was carried out by the Islamic Jihad organization, according to what has been published so far. The positive aspect of SHAS' attempt to find paths to the hearts of Muslims in Israel is in the possibility of somewhat easing the sting and in creating the possibility of dialogue between the two peoples and the two religions, on the basis of a common denominator.

### Kibbutzim Plagued by Socioeconomic Problems

44230093E Tel Aviv H.A. ARETZ  
in Hebrew 19 Jan 90 p 4B

[Article by L. Galili]

[Text] In the large dining room of Tzafit, the educational institution of HaShomer Hatzai, a big wall poster is spread out: "The Kibbutz Is Also Ours." The creative hand of one of the kibbutz students who came there a week ago for a two-day discussion played with the words during the night and changed the poster to read: "The Occupation is also Ours." In the morning two 16-year-olds stood in front of the improved poster and commented: "As far as the occupation is concerned, that's for sure, but the kibbutz, not at all."

The marathon discussion that HaShomer Hatzai organized for the children of its kibbutzim is only one expression of the atmosphere of deep crisis in which the kibbutz movement is entrenched. The economic crisis, the controversial debt arrangement, is only one side of the social depression passing through the entire movement. The debt arrangement was the catalyst for finally recognizing a deeper problem, which they have chosen to ignore all these years. If it had been specifically discussed, it would have been possible to easily use psychological terms: "depression" and "loss of self-assurance," which require treatment. A movement of 100,000 people prefers to speak of an "ideological break" and of the "parting of the ways," which urgently invite a renewed evaluation of the way.

If we examine the external revelations, the kibbutz movement is beginning to reveal a deep awareness of its situation. The cynics from outside, who say, "finally," will thus join the large group of kibbutzniks from within, who are of the opinion that this awakening comes too late. In the same breath, they will explain that there was a need for a sort of shock treatment, in order to bring the members out of their shameful tranquility. Only in the last month has Kibbutz Ha'artzi begun a series of talks, and they are open to the public, to discuss kibbutz problems. Only now, for the first time in its history, has Kibbutz Ha'artzi appointed a full-time spokesman, in an attempt to come out of its closed shell and reintegrate itself into Israeli society.

Perhaps not by chance Shlomo Haver, a 55-year-old member of Sha'ar-Ha'amaqim and a member of the Sephardi community who came to the kibbutz from outside, from the Hatikvah neighborhood, was chosen for the position of spokesperson. This selection, even if unconscious, seems like the search for an additional bridge to the outside. All of the spokesmen today in the name of the kibbutz movement repent their seclusion, their disconnection from processes in the society. The opening toward the outside world is perceived now as a necessary phase, albeit not liked by all.

### The Ladder of Sympathy

A strange thing happened in the last decade to the kibbutz movement and its relation with Israeli society. From millionaires with swimming pools as Menahem



Begin presented them to the public, they have become parasites who are sucking the blood of Israeli society. The wealthy image angers them; the pauper image is perceived as an insult and a degradation. And this isn't even a pauper arousing sympathy: A survey that examined the public's position toward kibbutzim during the course of four years shows an increasing erosion in sympathy toward them. Between '85 and '87, sympathy for the kibbutz declined from 70 percent sympathetic to 40 percent sympathy, 46 percent indifferent, and 12 percent opposed. An additional survey recently conducted by researcher Kalman Gayar uncovers a new tendency. The rate of sympathy did not actually change, but indifference declined to 40 percent, with the surplus raising the rate of opposers to 17 percent.

A deeper examination of the latest survey also shows the return of the old phenomenon. If, in earlier surveys, the intergeneration difference stood out as a primary component in relation to kibbutzim, now the communal component has returned as an influencing factor in the negative treatment of the Sephardic community toward kibbutzim. An even more surprising phenomenon uncovered in these surveys is the enormous alienation from the kibbutzim. Approximately one-half of the population of Israel has never had any contact with kibbutzim. They never visited a kibbutz and never had personal contact with a kibbutz member.

Against this background, it is possible to understand the world of stereotypical images that surrounds the kibbutzim. In Gayar's research, the respondents were asked to give free associations to the word "kibbutz." The researchers, themselves, were surprised to find out the range of these images: cow, chicken coop, dirt, cattle shed, good life, tractors, kibbutz hat. Kibbutz industry, and even David Balls did not find a place in the world of kibbutz images.

### The Desertion Is Legitimate

Martin Ben-More, a member of Kibbutz Nirim, the training center in Giv'at Haviva, who is the uncrowned ideologist of the idea of the renewed kibbutz, expresses the kibbutz crisis in one penetrating saying: "Once we had the role of the engineer. Now we have gone from the center to the outskirts." The marginal sense, the primary focus of the pain, took root in two phases. In the beginning the movement found itself outside of the center of the political map. Now, even the illusion of economic security has been shattered and with it the loss of self-assurance.

Twenty-three years ago, Yosi Livna, now 40 years of age, left a bourgeois, northern Tel Aviv home and went to Kibbutz Ga'aton, "because of the position of the kibbutz in Israeli society." Today, says Livna, one of the leaders of HaShomer Hatza'ir: "This position no

longer exists. We, ourselves, have given up the dream of special qualities; we are on the outside and all feeling is against us."

On Livna's kibbutz this crisis has found a very tangible expression. In the past year, 30 of its 290 residents have left and the potential for others' leaving has not yet been exhausted. Once, they tell, those departing would pack a bag in the dark of night and would slip away in the dark on the first bus, out of shame. Today, they stand at the doorway and demand aloud to have departure funds prepared for them. It is no longer shameful to leave; departing has become a legitimate step. This phenomenon also greatly stood out in the youth meeting in Tzafit. In conversations with them, or even in response to a direct question, many declared that they do not see their future on the kibbutz. At least they answered doubtfully. In each of these cases, the kibbutz was presented as standing in contradiction to the fulfillment of personal desires in the area of studies or career.

Life on the kibbutz is now perceived by them as merely an option, and not as the obvious way of life. Within the general atmosphere of gloom, Ben-More presents cautious optimism, not a decided solution or decided depression, as he says. He calls his position, which assumes a possibility of the existence of a renewed kibbutz, a "creative approach." "The kibbutz member was born into the solution that somebody else gave, without understanding the problem and without knowing enough to ask the questions. Now he must say what he wants."

The direction that Ben-More wants to follow with his fellow members is fraught with dangers. One of the dangers facing the changing kibbutz is the blurring of differences between it and the other lifestyles in Israel, going so far as to cancel out its uniqueness and undermine its right for existence not only from the economic aspect. Israeli society will also be asked to respond to its relation toward the kibbutz. To begin with, perhaps kibbutz members are not behaving like Narcissus looking at his reflection, but, rather, they are seeking their reflection in the eyes of the society around them as the basis for self-determination.

Avshalom Viln, from Kibbutz Negba, one of the leaders of Shalom 'Akshav, said this week in unconcealed cynicism that "one small war will suffice. Afterward, the kibbutzim will be able to say: 'our slain and our sacrifices,' in order to restore their public image." In the same spirit of cynicism it can be said that this entry ticket into Israeli society has already been punched once, and it cannot be used again. Whereas Ben-More concludes this initial phase thinking afresh: "I know what the end of the process will be, but it is clear to me that the process is necessary. Certainly, we will not leave the stage in demographic expiration."

## KUWAIT

### **Al-Sa'dun Calls for Restoration of Constitution, Parliament**

90OL0292A Doha AL-RAYAH  
in Arabic 18 Feb 90 pp 1, 7

[Interview with former National Assembly Speaker and Kuwaiti Democratic Grouping spokesman Ahmad al-Sa'dun; first fifteen paragraphs are AL-RAYAH introduction; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Kuwait has attracted the attention of the entire Arab world over the last few weeks with the appearance of much activity calling for the restoration of democracy to the country, following dissolution of the National Assembly several years ago.

While the members of the dissolved assembly formed a group demanding that the way be opened for democracy, regardless of its negative aspects and errors, clashes occurred because of several public groups whose behavior went too far.

As a result, Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah began meeting with certain former deputies and announced that he would meet with other figures and representatives of the various groups to discuss the future of democracy in Kuwait.

While the foreign news agencies inflated the size of the incidents and gave an exaggerated picture of differences of opinion, the question remains, "Will the National Assembly be restored?"

Different answers and remarks have been given.

Some say that the government completely rejects the idea.

Others say that the government supports the idea of establishing an appointed consultative council rather than an elected parliament.

Some predict that the National Assembly will be restored when circumstances in Kuwait and the region allow. Thus the facts are lost among the rumors, conjecture, and predictions.

The question remains unanswered: "Will the national Assembly be restored?"

For this reason, we wanted to meet with Speaker of the dissolved National Assembly Ahmad al-Sa'dun to ask him all these questions and extract the truth of the situation from the mass of confusion.

He welcomed the meeting.

He also welcomed the publication of all details which circumstances will allow.

The meeting took place.

I preferred to begin our dialogue with Ahmad Sa'dun at the farthest point because it is the hottest point, around which all the questions revolve. I asked the spokesman for the Kuwaiti Democratic Grouping:

[AL-RAYAH] What do you think is the future of democracy in Kuwait?

He answered firmly.

[AL-Sa'dun] I believe that we are on the road to an understanding and to drawing up a specific formula for restoring parliamentary life because Kuwait has no alternative other than to restore the constitution and the parliament.

From this burning question, I went back to the beginning to ask:

[AL-RAYAH] You had a dialogue meeting with H.E. the Crown Prince. Did you reach an agreement on anything during the meeting?

[Al-Sa'dun] My meeting with H.E. the Crown Prince was the first following a long hiatus, and it was clear that the two sides, H.E. the Crown Prince and my fellow members who attended the meeting, wished to reach an understanding. Agreement was reached on the basis of the dialogue, and the atmosphere was marked by understanding and frank discussion. Many matters were reviewed in general, including the constant issues, foremost being preservation of the articles of the constitution that have been in force since 1962, as well as the call to hold elections. We then talked about other issues, specifically his opinion of parliamentary activity. The previous experiment with parliamentary life in Kuwait was also brought up.

These issues were raised by both parties. Of course, in the first meeting we could not cover all our observations or those of H.E. the Crown Prince. His Excellency promised us that several meetings would be held to discuss all the issues, including the constants on which we will not compromise, as well as the call for elections and a return to parliamentary life. Then we discussed, to the extent possible, the exercise of executive and legislative authority. I believe that this can be included in the discussions; the important thing is that the meeting was positive and successful.

[AL-RAYAH] Were arrangements made and dates set for future meetings with H.E. the Crown Prince?

[Al-Sa'dun] When we were with H.E. the Crown Prince last week, we learned that the meeting had been arranged for after H.E. the Amir's official visit to Oman.

[AL-RAYAH] In your opinion, where will this dialogue lead?

[Al-Sa'dun] The government and we both want the constitution to be changed only through constitutional procedures. We cannot speak about alternatives to the

National Assembly because it is the basis of the legislative system of government, as stipulated in the constitution, and as such is a constant. The dialogue is aimed at other issues, such as the negative aspects of the practice of democracy. Such negative aspects are natural in all pursuits, and it is very beneficial for us to discuss the shortcomings each side sees in the other; what the legislative authority has to say about executive authority and vice versa. I believe that this is not a sensitive issue for us. All the practices of both sides—the government and the deputies—must be discussed and debated, but the constants will remain and must be retained in the framework of the constitution.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you have a specific idea about restoration of parliament and not amending the constitution? Do you expect the authorities to comply with your suggestions?

[Al-Sa'dun] The issue is primarily that we want to adhere to the constitution. Any party may see that there is something in the constitution that should be changed. I stress something important, which is that anyone may propose amending the constitution. This is legal and is done through the constitution. It is the right of the citizens who will take their places in the National Assembly one day, when they believe articles of the constitution should be changed, to propose a specific form. However, no member can come and request that such a change be made unless one-third of the members of the assembly join him. It is the same for the government. If H.E. the Emir believes that a part of the constitution should be changed, he may present a request that such a change be made; there are articles in the constitution defining the procedures to be followed. Any party may think that a change should be made, but it must be done through constitutional procedures, as in 1982, when I was the head of the National Assembly. The government presented a statement, to which the assembly agreed in principle. However, the statement did not receive the necessary majority for passage, and the government was forced to withdraw it.

[AL-RAYAH] The draft provision is said to be different, and is intended to expand the consultative base and define the concept of parliamentary representation. Will you approve it?

[Al-Sa'dun] I do not know the details of what was proposed. I do believe that anything may be put forth, but must be referred to the constitution. If what is proposed can be applied in accordance with the text of the constitution, then let it be applied. I do not believe that any form of popular representation other than that stipulated in the constitution—an elected national assembly consisting of 50 members—can be introduced.

If the desire is to expand the base by increasing the number of deputies or lowering the age, I imagine that even if this is ordinarily legal, it would have to be done

through the National Assembly after it is elected. However, if such things are proposed to bypass the constitution, that is another matter!

[AL-RAYAH] What are the next steps in the dialogue between you and H.E. the Crown Prince?

[Al-Sa'dun] I will not get ahead of events, but His Excellency gave me his comments and we expressed our views on legislating parliamentary life in the period since the constitution was promulgated. We commented on the process, but in our view, all of this will be reviewed and discussed through the constants. Everything else is open to efforts not prescribed by the constitution.

[AL-RAYAH] They say that members of the Democratic Grouping are being enticed to divide the group. What do you think?

[Al-Sa'dun] It is not an issue of splitting one group; the important thing is to believe in the issue. The proof of this is that the grouping, who were members of the previous legislative session of the National Assembly, began with 26 deputies and now numbers 32. As the numbers have increased, so has agreement.

[AL-RAYAH] As speaker of the dissolved National Assembly, what do you think were the negative aspects of the assembly?

[Al-Sa'dun] The main one was the lack of compliance and cooperation between the government and the assembly. Article 50 of the constitution stipulates that the authorities are to be independent and that they are to cooperate with each other. I believe that if true cooperation exists between the legislative and executive authorities, many issues would be resolved even before they are brought up in the assembly. We had examples of this in successive assemblies, when we had more than one issue on which to reach a decision outside the assembly, including matters related to foreign aid. Issues were debated in the context of constitutional cooperation and solved. I believe that many matters about which complaints have arisen could be solved in the constitutional framework if there is a sincere desire and intention on the part of the two authorities to cooperate and reach an agreement, on the condition that the assembly acknowledge the powers of the government and the government confirm the powers of the assembly. This is nothing new; we do this in Kuwait. Anyone who follows the established democracies will find that opposing and opposition parties raise issues in the interest of the ruling or of the opposition party and still place the greater interest of the country first.

We can also do this, provided that there is a desire to cooperate within the framework of the constitution.

[AL-RAYAH] No authority can accept public opinion's inciting illegal practices and improper behavior. Do you agree that peaceful dialogue through legal channels is preferable to dialogue through groupings, etc.?

[Al-Sa'dun] We do not support any form of incitement or threat to security because Kuwait is our country, our security is here, and its stability is our main concern. We do not express our opinions through incitement; the meetings which took place were like diwan meetings. One example was the meeting at my colleague Muhammad al-Munshid's diwaniyah. There were many people present, but the meeting was held. Four members spoke, and the meeting lasted for more than four hours. The large meeting was dismissed without any disturbances. Even the flowers at the entrance to the diwaniyah were not touched. Everyone wanted to meet and talk. The gathering broke up without anyone knowing about it.

We did not intend to call for demonstrations; we do not accept any friction between the security forces and the Kuwaiti people because, in the end, we are all Kuwaiti citizens. What amazes me is that the foreign press greatly exaggerated this incident.

[AL-RAYAH] What do you think of H.E. the Emir's appeal for opening a dialogue between you and H.E. the Crown Prince?

[Al-Sa'dun] When H.E. the Emir delivered his important speech at 1900 on January 20, the deputies were gathered in the diwaniyah. Before 2100 the same night, a decision was made to comply with His Excellency's appeal, to contact the Emiri Diwan, and then to delay convening of the diwans, since in the end, diwans are a way of expressing opinions since there are no other ways.

## LEBANON

### Cabinet Members Discuss War, Partition

#### Interview With Prime Minister al-Huss

90OL0295A Kuwait AL-QABAS  
in Arabic 24 Feb 90 p 21

[Interview with Prime Minister Salim al-Huss by Ikhlas al-Haj 'Ali: "Lebanon's Prime Minister Tells AL-QABAS, 'War in East Showed Most Recent Cliches for Aggrandizement To Be False; Now We Have Nothing To Say; Reality Is Grim and Being Hopeful Is Not the Same as Being Optimistic';" first two paragraphs are AL-QABAS introduction; in Beirut; date not specified]

[Excerpts] The Lebanese people are being penalized en masse. A death sentence of murder, slaughter, and terror is being carried out against some, while the penalty of others is the hard labor they must do in an exhausting daily search for water, light, and a crust of bread. [passage omitted] And everyone is pondering the bitter question: Where is all this leading to, and how long will it last? [passage omitted]. And you can do nothing more than ask the captain of this cursed ship [of state to give you answers to these questions]. [passage omitted]

We started by asking Prime Minister al-Huss a question that was based on the facts of the situation: "When we

were on the airplane that flew us from Kuwait to Beirut, we were asked to set our watches back by one hour in accordance with local time in Beirut. We set back our watches, but when we arrived in Lebanon, it seemed to us that we should have set our watches back by centuries. In your opinion, how far back should our watches have been set?"

Prime Minister Salim al-Huss smiled and answered our question with another one of his own: "Was this question on the list of the questions for the interview?"

[AL-QABAS] Yes, it was, and we hope you will give us an answer.

After a few moments of silence, Prime Minister al-Huss said, "There is no doubt that the situation which Lebanon finds itself in as a result of developments in its gory crisis has brought this country to a level of deterioration and backwardness which Lebanon should have left behind. Lebanon should have been able to continue the movement of progress and growth which characterized life in Lebanon before these events started happening. All the indicators show that the decline in the standard of living in the country has been frightening. This decline applies to the standard of living and to the standard of commitment to national and moral values as well. Even the level of aspirations for generations of Lebanese citizens has declined. The crisis in the country has had a disastrous effect [on everything], and it is threatening the unity of Lebanon as a nation, a society, and a state. Consequently, it is threatening the very essence of its existence. In this sense, there is no doubt that the crisis has had a tragic effect on delaying the course of Lebanon's progress and growth. In saying this, however, we hasten to add that Lebanese citizens remain vital and properly disposed to doing good things. We hope that when peace and stability are restored to their country, they will put their abundant capabilities to good use so they can get this country back on its feet and set it once again on the road of growth and construction so it can regain its rightful place under the sun."

#### Reality and the Future

[AL-QABAS] Your answer, Mr. Prime Minister, suggests a considerable measure of optimism, whereas the facts affirm that there is despair and pessimism. The facts also affirm that major attempts are being made to flee the country and to escape, not only because of the fear of dying in all the shelling that is taking place, but also because living conditions are deteriorating. Are there any reasons for optimism?

[al-Huss] Although it is true that the prevailing reality in Lebanon is grim, I am looking forward to a better future. I am very hopeful about the future because despite all the hardships and dangers Lebanon is facing at the present time, we can say that the Lebanese people will not die and that this country will get back on its feet. We can make such a statement because the gory crisis failed to put an end to this country after 15 years of the worst running episodes of death and destruction. We can make



this statement because all the harshness and violence manifested in this crisis failed to undermine the Lebanese people's confidence in their country's unity, their faith in their common destiny, and their aspirations for a better future. I am not talking about being optimistic, but I am talking about being hopeful, and there is a vast difference between the two. Under the existing, deteriorating conditions, one may not have the opportunity to be optimistic, whereas being hopeful is a condition associated with a specific, objective goal that one has for at least a certain period of time. Without hope, the country would have had no government because government is based on a methodology that is used to do the work that has to be done to achieve a specific goal, even for a period of time.

I am the one who said that it is the duty of government, any government, to make up something new to hope for, whenever one hope is dashed under the weight of the burdensome crisis which the country has been experiencing.

**"You Wax Poetic, Mr. Prime Minister!"**

[AL-QABAS] What you're saying, Mr Prime Minister, sounds more like poetry and romance than realism. What are the possibilities for turning the hope into material fact and reality?

[al-Huss] As I said, being hopeful is associated with a specific, objective goal. This is the basis upon which we have been working at every stage to achieve the goal which is being sought, namely, that of saving Lebanon from its predicament by emphasizing its unity as a country, as a society, and as a state. We would proceed from there to strengthen proper democratic practices in a capable and just state. But to answer the question about the possibilities for turning hope to reality, I would say that when that happens, the crisis would have come to an end. This is what we have been working for. We have been doing everything we can to make this happen.

[AL-QABAS] Are you saying that Salim al-Huss, the man, is being hopeful but that Salim al-Huss, the official, is declaring that he can do nothing more?

[al-Huss] I will let responsible citizens of Lebanon make that judgment. I feel that I am doing everything I can, above and beyond the call of national duty, to achieve what all the Lebanese are striving to achieve to bring an end to the crisis and build a road to the beneficial solutions that would carry Lebanon from one state of being to another. Although the crisis has not yet come to an end, the matter does not pertain exclusively to what one person in this country does or does not do, regardless of that person's position of responsibility. This is because the crisis in Lebanon involves domestic and foreign factors that are interrelated and interconnected.

**One Nation**

[AL-QABAS] How would you, Mr. Prime Minister, summarize what happened in the eastern sector?

[al-Huss] Incidents like those which happened in the eastern sector happened in other areas earlier between other factions. Nevertheless, the incidents in the eastern sector were more violent, more vicious, and more savage. These wars are the tragic manifestation of how splintered and fragmented Lebanon has become after 15 years of sectarian conflict. The war in the eastern sector showed the most recent cliches of aggrandizement and deception to be false. It was said that the security of the Christian community was more important than anything else. Everything that was said to rebut the proponents of such a statement, namely that this society was one society and that its security was indivisible, proved to be useless. People were told that either everyone is secure, or no one will be secure. And now it is the advocates of that cliché themselves who, with their own hands, are destroying the security of that area which is subject to their control. They are also threatening the security of all Lebanon. The proponents of that cliché were the ones who built their glory on the so-called notion of cultural pluralism, and they were the ones who carried the banner of sectarian plans for partitioning Lebanon. They would not listen when they were told that isolationism would lead to partitioning; that partitioning would lead to breaking up the country into bits and pieces; that sectarianism would lead to confessionalism; and that confessionalism would lead to conflicts of interest or to unlimited partisan or tribal conflicts which would cause conflicts in every village, in every residential area, and in every household. Lebanon is paying the price now for the intransigence of those who played with the fire of sectarianism. Intra-denominational and intra-regional wars broke out in the wake of the contrived sectarian wars.

[AL-QABAS] Do we join you in yielding to the hope that this will be the end of our grief?

[al-Huss] This series of destructive wars has been going on for a long time. The war in the eastern sector of Beirut was only the most recent episode, even though it was the most violent, the most vicious, and the most savage of all the episodes. We hope this episode will be the last one in this series. If everyone accepts the rationale of one community, one country, and, ultimately, one destiny, it will be the last episode in this series.

**Interview With Foreign Minister Rizq**

90OL0295B Kuwait AL-QABAS  
in Arabic 25 Feb 90 p 9

[Interview with Edmund Rizq, minister of information, by Ikhlas al-Haj 'Ali: "Minister Edmund Rizq Tells AL-QABAS, 'Arabs Inadvertently Forgot About Lebanon; Lebanon's Problems Started in the South Because Arabs Forgot About the Importance of Fortifying Lebanon; Those Who Contributed to the Strike Against Coexistence in the South Collaborated in Two Crimes: Bringing Problems in Lebanon to a Head and Liquidating the Palestinian Cause; Restoring Stability to Lebanon Would Pave the Way to a Solution to the Middle East Question; the Framework of the State Is the Only

One Which Is Qualified To Protect and Save Everyone; the Ongoing Process of Partitioning and Dividing the Country Is a Threat to the Entire Arab Area; Arabs Have To Fight Their Battle for Unity in Lebanon by Restoring That Country's Unity; I Am Still Dreaming of a Common Arab Market To Pave the Way for More Pro-Unity Solidarity; Local and Foreign Factors Are Putting Pressure on Government in Favor of General Aoun; Arab Mission Must Continue Until al-Ta'if Resolution Is Implemented; Our Government Should Not Be Left Alone To Confront Cases of Division"; in Beirut; date not specified]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [AL-QABAS] Minister Edmund Rizq, as an expatriate from south Lebanon and an expatriate Lebanese minister, what do you have to say about south Lebanon?

[Rizq] It is customary for people to associate themselves with the cities, villages, and areas where they live. As far as I am concerned, south Lebanon lives in my heart, and the relationship that exists between me and it is like that which exists between it and its various other residents: it is a relationship of close ties and a profound sense of association. Oh how I wish for the spirit of south Lebanon to prevail over the rest of the country! South Lebanon is a land of peace, and it is a model for harmony, congeniality, and affection. This may be why all of south Lebanon is paying the price for the whole country. One time its people pack up and leave or, another time, they are forced to leave because their country is being occupied, seized, and violated with impunity. South Lebanon and the people of south Lebanon have always suffered deprivation. This may also be the reason why residents of south Lebanon are always yearning for south Lebanon even though they may live elsewhere or leave south Lebanon. South Lebanon is in our hearts when we are not living there. This is tantamount to a unique form of suffering as we face the conditions to which south Lebanon is being subjected and the worries under which it labors. This alternation between western control and division represents in some way the sum total of the pain felt by people in all areas, and that alternation has painful repercussions on all parts of the country.

I said one time that south Lebanon is a symbol for coexistence, and I continued to repeat that what is required is tying south Lebanon once again to Lebanon. It is not enough for the south to adhere unilaterally to the notion of a single state while the state itself abandons the south or is unable to contact it or establish a presence in it. I am still proclaiming the adage that the state should return to south Lebanon so that the whole country, including the south, can be restored to the state. I do not wish to go on and on describing the suffering of south Lebanon under the occupation or usurpation. Everyone knows that most of what happens in Lebanon in general is the result of the tragedies that are occurring in the south.

[AL-QABAS] And what, in your opinion, are the means by which this return can be achieved?

[Rizq] The national reconciliation government thinks that one of its first tasks is to carry out its responsibility in preparation for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 425. This means it has to equip Lebanese army troops with what is necessary so they can do what they have to do alongside the UN emergency troops which are entrusted with the task of assisting the Lebanese state in its efforts to establish its authority over that part of Lebanon. In the meantime, the factions in south Lebanon should show their understanding for the state and their cooperation with it because it is the only framework which is qualified to protect and save everyone.

It is on this basis that we condemn the incidents in the al-Tuffah District. These incidents could not possibly serve the interests of any national or pan-Arab cause. We are also asking for the elimination of all alternatives to Lebanon's legitimate forces. To put it more clearly, officials of Lebanese and Palestinian political parties, organizations, and factions, and all those who joined or infiltrated these organizations must understand that national interests and pan-Arab interests make it imperative that we return to a unified state format. These people and others working outside the framework of the legitimate state have tried in vain to build an alternative and to destroy the state deliberately, but their efforts backfired, bringing them disaster and defeat. Anyone who took part in striking down the spirit of peace and coexistence in the south has collaborated in committing two parallel crimes: the crime of bringing the Lebanese question to a head and the crime of liquidating the Palestinian question. The responsibility for this crime goes beyond the state of Lebanon to all the Arab countries collectively. After all, the trouble which started in south Lebanon would not have been exacerbated had the Arabs not ignored the importance of fortifying Lebanon and not exposed it to a unilateral and unequal confrontation.

[AL-QABAS] How, in your opinion, can Lebanon and south Lebanon be saved when the unity of Lebanon is held hostage and south Lebanon is the ransom that is being demanded for it? How can this situation be confronted when conditions are attached to rescuing both?

[Rizq] There is no doubt that restoring Lebanon's unity and restructuring the state in a united Lebanon is the way to solve the question of South Lebanon. The restoration of stability to Lebanon is also the first step toward solving the Middle East question. A meeting was held in al-Ta'if, and the national reconciliation document, whose aim is to revive the Lebanese entity, was drafted for that reason. But this savage war which is being waged against the al-Ta'if Agreement is being waged to prevent the restoration of unity to Lebanon. Lebanon is being broken up into bits and pieces to prevent the state of war in the Middle East from being brought to an end and to strike a blow against existing Arab entities. That is why the emergency Arab summit meeting in Casablanca demonstrated national vigilance when it gave the problem of Lebanon special attention and kept the

supreme tripartite committee in business until peace in Lebanon is firmly established.

That is why the mere confirmation of the national reconciliation document in al-Ta'if cannot be the end of the Arab mission. The Arab mission did not end when the president, who died in office, was elected and his successor was also elected and a national reconciliation government was formed. The Arab mission must go on, and it must continue to be carried out in an effective manner until all the items in the al-Ta'if document are implemented. The Lebanese government should not be left to face the question of partition and instances of rebellion and disobedience alone. The Lebanese government should not be left alone to face pockets of usurpation in the east, in the south, and elsewhere in Lebanon, because what happens in Lebanon concerns the Arab world directly.

[AL-QABAS] Would you please clarify that?

[Rizq] To put it more clearly, the ongoing process of partitioning Lebanon and breaking it up into bits and pieces has implications that go beyond the borders of Lebanon. This is a process that is threatening the entire Arab area. That is why Arab countries must fight the battle for Arab unity in Lebanon by restoring unity to Lebanon.

[AL-QABAS] Let's assume there is a conspiracy. Isn't the presence of people who can carry out such a conspiracy one of the problems in Lebanon? Isn't there a crisis among "men" in Lebanon, just as there is a crisis among Arab countries?

[Rizq] Here again I have to remind [you] of what I said more than once. I said that the Lebanese, or rather, many of them, were being used in the destruction of Lebanon. It is true that outside elements interfered in Lebanese affairs, that foreign conflicts occurred in Lebanon, and that Arab and international disputes erupted in our country. All these things are true, but it is also true that many Lebanese were used in fighting other people's wars and conflicts. The Lebanese were used by those with schemes, interests, and ambitions. What is required here is not only the return of Arabs to Arabism, but also the return of the Lebanese to Lebanon. Two returns, if one may say so, are required here: the return of the Lebanese to Lebanon and the return of Arabs to Arabism in the cultural and ethnic sense. In other words, [what is required is something like what we saw in] Europe, which got out of its isolation and loneliness, or rather out of a state of war, crises, hostility, and hard feelings to enter a stage of cooperation, a common market, a European parliament, and soon economic unity and absolute political agreement. What Europe did had stunning cultural and humanitarian repercussions, such as those we saw recently in East Europe, the most magnificent manifestation of which was the destruction of the Berlin Wall.

Movement beyond the stage of harmony, solidarity, and prounity coordination is what is required from the

Arabs. I, personally, have been dreaming for many years of a common Arab market that would pave the way for more prounity solidarity while preserving the identity of each country and the organizational frameworks it finds suitable.

[AL-QABAS] Are the events which are happening in south Lebanon and in the eastern areas indications of further fragmentation, or are they laying the groundwork for undermining all the illegitimate factions so that the government can establish its authority?

[Rizq] I do not think that all this bloodshed and all this destruction was necessary to show that restoring the legitimate government and a united, democratic state would be the only way out of this situation and the only way for bringing about peace. In my opinion, independent actions regarding this matter do not represent the logical truth. I believe that negative means, that is, the failure of the government's adversaries and the collapse of its enemies' plans, cannot be the only means by which the government can achieve victory. Instead, the government must prove itself in a positive and objective manner by setting a better example in the area of its presence. This means that unsettled security in the eastern area would not be enough to say that the government has won. Instead, security in the western area and in all areas of the country which are supposed to be under the government's control must be firmly established. This is what we have been working for, either through the security plan, or by activating official agencies and reviving state institutions.

[AL-QABAS] With regard to what is happening in the eastern areas and in the al-Tuffah Region, what is the situation that would compel the government to interfere and mitigate the disasters which fell on citizens' heads? After all, the government is like a mother to all citizens, even though some of those citizens did find "surrogate" mothers to turn to.

[Rizq] There is a difference between being convinced of an action and having the ability to carry it out. I personally believe that the state must always interfere to protect the country and the people. The state is absolutely responsible for the interests of its citizens. This responsibility is not subject to any conditions. That is, the state cannot impose conditions on its people which they must meet before it can fulfill its duties to them. Implementing an action, however, to get the required results requires circumstances and conditions. In the present situation in Lebanon, which is the result of 15 years of killing, destruction and disintegration, it is better to provide the appropriate circumstances and the necessary conditions to ensure the success of the government's intervention. The state, therefore, is well aware of the fact that it must interfere and that it must assume its responsibilities. The state is always making preparations for such intervention, and there are no grounds whatsoever for raising any questions about that.

[AL-QABAS] The government's attitude toward the situation with General Aoun has moved gradually from being extremely serious and expeditious to being extremely calm and deliberate. To what do you attribute this, and what are the reasons for it?

[Rizq] There are internal and external factors putting pressure on the government and affecting what it can do. The subject of Lebanon cannot be separated from what is happening in the region and what is happening internationally. That is why Arab and international authorities are being called upon to support the Lebanese government by their actions, especially after parliament's achievement of the al-Ta'if Agreement which enabled it to elect a president, or rather two. A national reconciliation government was formed after that, and the countdown for the restoration of unity and peace was started. I want to emphasize here once again that the Arab role is important so that pressure can be applied to some Arabs, who remain noncommittal, and to some international powers, who stand on the sidelines and watch.

[AL-QABAS] With regard to confronting Gen. Aoun, it is being said that countries like France and the Vatican, for example, are putting limitations and drawing red lines for such a confrontation. How true are such statements?

[Rizq] If there are red lines to be drawn, the national reconciliation government will be the first one to draw them. From the outset the national reconciliation government announced that it was in the business of avoiding bloodshed, not saving time. The declaration of national reconciliation assumes that violence is ruled out. Much advice has been given to the Lebanese government to avoid violence. But the national reconciliation government has never considered and will never consider the use of violence to be a viable option in dealing with any group of people. However, appropriate methods must be used to deal with the phenomenon of rebellion and disobedience. This includes using the power of the military establishment to get matters within that same establishment under control.

Based on the al-Ta'if Agreement and the general international support for it which ensued after this agreement was reached, we can also ask these superpowers to help us find a peaceful solution. We should not be content with noncommittal positions which encourage the rebels to persist in their rebellion. Such noncommittal positions come close to guaranteeing the rebels' safety, not the people's safety. We must realize that not using firm methods to deal with a dangerous situation has led and is leading to casualties and to property damage which are many times greater than the casualties and property damages which could have resulted from any limited and quick operation to end the rebellion and stop the slaughter. Even the parties in that gory conflict in the eastern area and in al-Tuffah District have publicly and unequivocally acknowledged that. The horror of the national and human disaster which occurred during the recent weeks must provide everyone who is concerned

about Lebanese affairs with an incentive to take practical, prompt, and effective initiatives to save what is left of Lebanon.

[AL-QABAS] Speaking about justice as well as about wireless, mail, and telephone services may not be pressing, because these matters are considered luxuries which are not yet available to the Lebanese. But talking about the media is a pressing matter. Carrying this point further, let us say that if the government were to fight a battle, half of that battle would be fought in the media. Are your media up to such a fight, and if they are not, what are the means which are being used to prepare them for undertaking such a task in preparation for this future battle?

[Rizq] The situation in the media is linked to the general situation in Lebanon. While the government pursues a positive, conciliatory approach in its media, nongovernmental media agencies are adding fuel to the fire, stirring up hatreds, and fueling contradictions. That is why we devoted one paragraph in the national reconciliation document to the media, and we stipulated that the media in Lebanon had to be reorganized on the basis of responsible freedom to serve the peaceful approach and an end to the state of war.

The situation we are suffering from is this: Media agencies which are associated with the government are weak compared to media agencies which are not associated with the government. Ever since assuming our responsibilities in the Ministry of Information, we undertook a campaign to refurbish Lebanon's television center in the western district. We are also refurbishing Radio Lebanon, which broadcasts from Beirut. We have also been coordinating with some private broadcasts, which are sympathetic to the government and support the national reconciliation document. There is no doubt that the state's limited current capabilities are delaying the completion of this campaign and delaying the media's more effective contribution to the battle. The media represent an alternative force; they represent the force of peace. Essential assistance to that sector spares us [the choice of] resorting to military means.

[AL-QABAS] Have you previously asked for assistance to refurbish this important sector?

[Rizq] I would prefer not to go into the details of this matter because I believe asking for anything from anyone but God is humiliating. I took it upon myself not to add to our people's pain and our nation's disasters by hurting our people's pride. Whatever the situation, we are continuing our efforts to refurbish our media agencies. We are continuing our attempt to develop them by using our modest means and the Council of Ministers' decree.

I hope this will not be construed as a remark that detracts from all the fraternal initiatives for which we are thankful.



## SAUDI ARABIA

### Electronics Firm's Military, Civilian Production Described

90OL0285A London AL-MAJALLAH  
in Arabic 22 Jan 90 pp 40-43

[Article: "Electronics Company Begins Manufacturing Wireless Sets"]

[Text] During next April, the Saudi Ground Forces (Signal Corps) will be supplied with the first wireless sets of Saudi manufacture. Those sets will be the first nucleus of production by Advanced Electronics Ltd., a Saudi company with Saudi-foreign joint capital from the Saudi Arabian Airlines, the National Commercial Bank, the National Industrialization Company, and the Gulf Organization for Investment (50 percent), the Boeing Industrialization Technology Group (B.I.T.G.), a simple limited company composed of Westinghouse, I.T.T. [International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation], the United Support and Services Company, the Saudi al-Amudi group, and Boeing (50 percent).

Dr. Samir Fayiz, the executive president of the company, explained that it is one of the economic equilibrium companies of the Peace Shield [Defense System] project, and its aim is to achieve self-sufficiency for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the field of electronics for the various sectors, foremost among them the Ministry of Defence and [Civil] Aviation. [He said,] "We hope to expand in the future to cover the needs of the gulf and the Arab states." The company will manufacture and repair electronic equipment "of high quality and laudable cost through the use of mechanization and automation".

### Technology Transfer

The economic equilibrium program concentrates especially on the process of technology transfer, which will be accomplished by several means in Advanced Electronics, according to its executive president, such as "the transfer of advanced technology information from the foreign companies participating through licensing and technical services agreements with other designated foreign companies," and the participation of qualified Saudi youths (and this is most important) in working side by side (with the aim of close contact) with the foreign experts, whom those companies will provide to gain first-rate technical experience and skills through those personnel.

Dr. Fayiz concentrates on the Saudi youths' continuing in the work "and pursuing the trade and gaining experience through the functional development program and active participation in production, fabrication, installation, assembly, and repair". An office for research and development will be set up in the company to work on improving and developing the products of the company and making modifications to them to correspond to local requirements.

### 2000 Job Opportunities

When the company expands production, the number of workers in it will reach approximately 2000 Saudi youths and others. But how will these Saudi youths be recruited? Dr. Fayiz answers that that will be done through announcements in the various media and contact with educational institutions such as the colleges, universities, technical institutes, and resorting to some government bodies, such as the Public Foundation for Technical Education and Vocational Training.

Regarding the qualifications which the company will seek in the youth who apply, "this will differ from one position to another." But most of the positions which will be available in the company in the future "have a technical imprint in the field of electronics" that "requires a good knowledge of electronics and proficiency in the English language, which will be the language of technology transfer in the first stages." As for leadership positions, "the selection process will concentrate on persons who have broad experience in the commercial and industrial fields."

The company is now accepting applications for employment which may reach it directly or through the office of the secretariat of the committee of economic equilibrium.

### Training Program

Work in the field of electronics requires extreme precision, which is provided through the training which the Saudi youths applying to work in the company will receive. At the present time, four qualified Saudi youths are being trained in a program of maintaining radars in early warning aircraft (AWACS). The training will be done in a number of ways, says Dr. Fayiz, including "cooperation with the institutes and facilities of the Public Foundation for Technical Education and Vocational Training, which has shown its readiness to support the economic equilibrium program, and through the electronics institute which they are working on setting up in Riyadh." The training will also be done before they begin working in the company.

The foreign companies financing the technology transfer, such as the American Westinghouse Company and the British Racal Company, will participate in the mission of training the Saudi youths, "and the training program will be conducted inside the Kingdom in a concentrated form and abroad in the form of short courses." This is in addition to the technical agreements which the company will conclude in the future with some foreign companies specializing in the field of training and raising the level of the Saudi technicians and developing their competence in their fields of work.

### \$380 Million Annual Sales

The production of wireless sets for military uses is the first stage of production only. "The company will be able to produce developed electronic equipment which will

respond to distinct needs in the Middle East and other world markets." The company will devote much of its attention "to providing integrated support, inasmuch as it will respond in a spontaneous way to requests for testing and repair services, training, spare parts, provisioning, and technical services."

Dr. Fayiz expects that the total annual sales of the company will reach \$380 million and that its production will extend to the gulf states and elsewhere.

The company's executive president summarizes the division of the market into:

- 1) Communications equipment (the manufacture of tactical and secure radio Msets and the application of communications systems.)
- 2) The development and integration of electronic systems (the definition and development of the systems and the application of the systems)
- 3) Supporting the electronic products (reworking—testing and repair, technical services, the aging of the equipment.)

The capital of Advanced Electronics Ltd., which is abbreviated in the economic equilibrium program to the name "Electronics", is 630 million Saudi riyals (about \$170 million.) The partners have paid a quarter of this amount. The rest of the capital will be covered through loans from the Saudi commercial banks (50 percent) and the Saudi Industrial Development Fund.

**[Box, p 42] Advanced Electronics Ltd. Main headquarters: Riyadh.**

Branches: None.

The company's capital: 630 million Saudi riyals

Capital paid: 157.50 million riyals (25 percent of the capital).

Commercial activity: Advanced Electronics Ltd. will produce advanced electronic sets and equipment with accessories and requisites, in addition to testing and repairing electronic sets and equipment, including navigational equipment for aircraft. It will also offer integrated support in its field and will guarantee the supply of spare parts, technical services, system engineering, training, technical publications, etc., in the following fields:

- 1) Wireless communications equipment, military and civilian, with various accessories and requisites.
- 2) Secure communications equipment with accessories and requisites.
- 3) Earth stations for satellites with their accessories and requisites.
- 4) Mobile bases for communications.
- 5) Whole commercial communications systems.

6) Various radar sets complete with their accessories.

7) Spare parts for electronic equipment.

8) Support for the electronic industries (reworking/testing and repairing electronic circuit boards).

9) Developing and integrating electronic systems.

10) Repair, technical services, engineering, training, etc.

The company will interact with: the Ministry of Defence and [Civil] Aviation, the Interior Ministry, the National Guard, the Ministry of Post, Telephone, and Telegraph, the large industrial companies, and the civilian services companies.

The shareholders in the company:

- 1) The National Commercial Bank (Saudi), a 10 percent share.
- 2) Saudi Arabian Airlines (Saudi), a 10 percent share.
- 3) The National Industrialization Company (Saudi), a 15 percent share.
- 4) The Gulf Investment Company (Gulf participation), a 15 percent share.
- 5) B.I.T.G. (American), a 50 percent share

The Board of Directors: 'Adnan al-Dabbagh, chairman of the board

Members: Ahmad Salih (National Commercial Bank), Dr. Farid Hamid (National Industrial Company), Dr. Fu'ad Sinan (the Gulf Organization for Development), and George Zabukrsky, Ronald Glover, and Ray Rizr from the Boeing Group.

Executive President: Dr. Samir Fayiz.

## SUDAN

### Government Urged To Explain Domestic Crisis to Public

900A0392A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 5 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Muhammad Tah Muhammad Ahmad: "Despite the Victories of 30 June, Bare the Facts! Many Conferences Do Not Convince the People of the Reasons for the Lack of Oil and Matches"]

[Text] No one can say that everything is just fine in the Sudan, for, despite the earnestness and keenness of the new era, its victories in the fields of military and political warfare, its having broken the power of the rebels in Kurmuk and Rumbek and the cities and rural areas of Equatoria, its having blocked the movements of the unions of the forces of the left, and other things, it is feared that the revolution of national salvation is foundering in the continually shifting sands of economic

warfare which surpasses the shifting of the sands in Wadi al-Himar, this wadi in our country which buries its victims as quickly as the human mind can imagine!

Motor oil and cooking oil have run out in a country that is all cottonseed and broad beans, sesame and sunflower. Bread is scarce, the price of a piece of bitter sorghum has risen and the cost of a portion that would not feed a child has become a whole Sudanese pound. Matches are non-existent and the black market and smuggling are finding their direct ways and paths to the districts of the capital and the provinces!

There has been no bread in the capital for days, and it was said that the reason for that was that the mill broke down, but why were the people not told this, to arrange their affairs? It was said that telling the people the truth would create a state of panic, the results of which would be adverse. It was said that the reason for the lack of oil was the desire of the government to export our better quality oil and import oil of less good quality and lower price, as Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir did. This is the fate of revolutions: their people sacrifice to stop the collapse and for the round of speedy development, then afterwards comes the era of relaxation!

But the reason for the scarcity of oil was not announced to the people, like the breaking of the mill stones, and [only] God and the government know the secrets of the nonexistence of matchboxes.

The authorities are making a serious mistake. If the people do not have the facts, it causes them to be frightened. Yet this is preferable to the drowning water reaching them from under the straw, and preferable to their legs being consumed by fire hidden under the ashes!

It is said that the government is not getting international support, that promises are not being fulfilled but only disavowed, and the government arranges its affairs between belly and blood, trying to get food for the famine while paying the bill for the war raging in the south!

But here also—no, here more—we want the people told the facts so that they will know that countries in the world want to buy the freedom of this state and its sovereignty and national resolve with a bill of gasoline and flour and matchboxes! Tell the people the whole truth like the ascetic revolutionary imam did when the economic blockade was imposed on him and he proclaimed fasting on Mondays and Thursdays of every week, until his country had enough food and he defeated America and the western camp totally!

Big causes and complicated problems must be known by the people so that they will be patient and share in solving them and will not be frightened, having tried to live two months' time without a grain of sugar in the country!

We do not want the country to be like the dog of 'Abd-al-Jalil, battling in silence and refusing to speak, attacking the wolf while the people imagine that it has attacked the child!

The story is well-known. 'Abd-al-Jalil had a dog called Red. One day he called him to hunt, but Red strongly refused and preferred to remain in the house. 'Abd-al-Jalil went out alone to hunt, angry. When he returned the dog greeted him and his mouth was smeared with blood. Here the man believed that the dog had devoured his small son whom he had left sleeping, so he rushed to thrust his spear into Red's chest. After an hour, the child's cry rang out. He had awakened under the covers, and under the bed lay the corpse of the wolf which Red had killed when it attacked the house of 'Abd-al-Jalil.

The government must discuss its achievements and must make known to the people the obstacles which stand in the way of any success or the realization of any gain or advantage so that the people will not say that the government is occupied with travelling, like the president and the members of the Council of the Head of State were doing, and that the government is concerned with much talking and many conferences in spite of the fact that its president, in the first statement he made, had reproved the prime minister for talking too much. Al-Bashir said in the first statement of the revolution: "As for the Prime Minister, he has wasted the country's time with much talking and vacillating in his positions until he has lost his credibility."

The [man in the] street says that the travels of the member of the Revolutionary Command Council and the delegations of national dialogue have become excessive and the revolution has become addicted to much talk in conferences while no more than seven months old, and the people have been unable even to follow these conferences and their decisions.

Amid the many conferences, the government does not discuss its straitened circumstances and international pressures or the obstacles and the reasons for the shortage of oil, the scarcity of bread, the nonexistence of matches, the continuing trails of smuggling, and the black market in sections of the capital and the provinces.

We do not want the government to be like the dog of 'Abd-al-Jalil, killing the wolf while it is believed that it has killed the child. This government should not reckon that its adversaries in the country have lost all their weapons. Those whose interests the [national] salvation authorities have struck at in the Sudan are numerous, and they move to bury their [the authorities'] achievements just as the wind moves the sands in Wadi al-Himar!

#### **PDF Commander Updates Supplemental Force Activities**

90OA0392B Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 22 Feb 90 p 5

[Interview with Staff Brigadier General Babakr 'Abd-al-Mahmud, commander of the PDF, by Samiyah al-Shaykh Nafi: "PDF To Preserve Honor of Homeland"; first two paragraphs are AL-INQADH AL-WATANI introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] The Popular Defense Law was approved, and the door was opened to those wishing to join the ranks of the Popular Defense Force (PDF) in defense of the homeland and its honor.

"Al-Inqadh al-Watani" interviewed (Staff) Brigadier General Babakr 'Abd-al-Mahmud, commander of the PDF, concerning the general and basic features of the law. What did he say?

#### **The Basic Features of the Popular Defense Law**

He said: "This law came about to meet the need of those individuals who want to volunteer to serve the homeland and defend its land, its pride, and its honor. Among its features are raising the degree of national awareness, training the citizens in civil and military defense work, supporting the reserves, and spreading the spirit of discipline among all the citizens.

"Another of its features is that the law opens wide the door of volunteering to all sectors of the two sexes, on condition that they are 26 or more years of age. It [the PDF] was put under the command of the armed forces to stress nationalism and surety of direction.

"There is an advisory board composed of all relevant quarters and ministries to guarantee that the law is carried out with high efficiency. The law stipulates that the rights and benefits of position, salary, and promotion be safeguarded during the period of training and recall."

[AL-INQADH AL-WATANI] The idea of the PDF had existed. What changed after the revolution of national salvation?

[Babakr] Before the Popular Defense Law passed, there were armed groups with a racial stamp operating in various theaters of operations. They were working in complete isolation from the control and administration of the armed forces, which led to utter chaos and instable security and sullied the reputation of the land internationally and locally. Armed robbery became a natural occurrence in all the regions of the Sudan. After the revolution of national salvation, the Popular Defense Law was passed with the aim of preparing the people and training its youths to take charge, assume responsibility, and participate in constructive tasks with a sincere patriotic spirit.

[Passage illegible] the formation of the PDF in Kordofan (South Kordofan) and Bahr al-'Arab. It covers all of the areas of the Sudan, except that there is a priority in places that have found themselves compelled to enter into the war, where the farmers left the fields and harvests, the villages were abandoned, and the livestock were prevented from reaching the watering places. We headed toward these places and formed forces for popular defense there to protect their land, property, and fields from rebel hands. That prevented our announcing the creation of popular defense forces in the other

provinces. Now we are currently preparing the regulations and organizations to announce the establishment of forces for popular defense in all parts of the Sudan.

[AL-INQADH AL-WATANI] Of course these forces will be under the supervision of the armed forces. What is the form of this supervision?

Gen. Babakr went on to say: "The supervision of all the PDF and all of its units and the armed forces is done by holding the weapons and distributing [them] when needed from their depots."

#### **How the PDF's Bearing Weapons Is Being Legalized**

"The bearing of weapons will be legalized. We have documents containing all the information about the weapon bearer, the number of the weapon, and the serial number, prepared in two copies: a copy for the command and another for the PDF. There are also identity cards for the PDF, and after their training they are registered in special files where they can be recalled at any time."

#### **The Tasks of the PDF**

"The PDF assists the People's Armed Forces and the other regular forces by participating in the work of defending the fatherland and responding to crises and disasters.

"They also undertake any tasks which the commander-in-chief assigns them."

#### **Implementation Measures**

"After the individuals are trained, there will be a special register of these personnel who have joined the ranks of the PDF, and we will publicize them through various media for performing their tasks, whether it be rescue from the floods or disasters or any tribal struggles as happened in Lagawa, until the peace conference is held the beginning of February, God willing, and after the state is reassured with regard to those areas."

#### **The Advisory Council**

"The advisory council will definitely be headed by the chief-of-staff and the commander of the PDF. Its members will be the director general of the police, the director general of prisons, the deputy chief of the Bureau of Services, a representative of the Ministry of Education, a representative of Sudanese Security, a representative of the Ministry of Local Rule, and any person whom the commander-in-chief deems appropriate."

#### **The General Features of the Organization Regulation**

"We are trying to make an organization whereby the PDF can fit the various regions of the Sudan, according to the nature of each region and the importance of popular defense to the region. The general features are derived from the PDF Law of 1989. The regulation is interpreted to limit the meetings of the advisory council



for the PDF to once a month, but it gives the commander-in-chief the right to summon this council whenever there is a need.

"The regulation also sets the legal quorum, which is the presence of the members, and grants the powers. The regulation also stipulates that the PDF be distributed in all the regions of the Sudan to stress nationalism, ensuring direction. It also limits the period of training to not exceed three months, with refresher training lasting up to 15 days, once a year."

### **Military Leaders Urged To Turn Power Over to People**

90P40009 Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 23 Mar 90 p 12

[Editorial by Muhammad Ziyadah Humur]

[Text] No matter how the revolution has tried to convince many people of its democracy, unfortunately it cannot as long as top-level leaders continue to wear "khaki" and the resolutions of committees, conferences, and seminars are merely recommendations or guidelines which are nonbinding for the ruling regime.

Delivering power to the people undoubtedly is the goal of the revolution, which is still searching for the ideal way to attain this noble democratic objective, the aim of every system of government respecting human rights.

The revolution has rooted itself in the hearts of the people with its principles and intentions, not by its guns and prisons. It does not need any military or police measures to prove its power, but it badly needs much democratic freedom as the crowning touch to the triumphs of its announced objectives which have become an inseparable part of national life.

This democratic freedom is not necessarily a proposal for representative government, which is a proven failure, antiquated and loathed by the people. However, there are other modern ways which are more democratic and progressive than the backward, liberal, representative system of the past which has been discarded by most of the world's people.

Anyone of sound mind and pure heart knows that the revolution has succeeded in a visually striking and wonderfully satisfying manner in spreading real democracy in the area of opinion and objection. It has tolerated constructive and destructive criticism, unlike previous narrowminded governments whose leaders spoke in parables about action, truth, honesty, and authority, which made the people apprehensive of the seriousness of their initiatives in every field.

Indeed the time has come for top and low-level leaders to remove their "military" garb because they have thoroughly exhausted its purpose, which no longer represents a social or political guarantee after the revolution has implemented all of its initial plans and yielded authority in the name of both the people and the army. Moreover,

it has become necessary to "legitimize" the people's committees, consultative councils, and central and regional, general and specialized conferences, so that their resolutions become a sign of permanence and commitment for the ruling authority until real authority is transferred from the Revolution Command Council to the people in correct democratic fashion.

The National Salvation Revolution did not lay the groundwork for the sake of dictatorship in any of its forms and names, but for popular, liberal democracy. Now it must finish building.

## **SYRIA**

### **Availability of Propane Gas Discussed**

#### **Black Market in al-Ladhiqiyah**

90OL0311A Damascus AL-BATH  
in Arabic 21 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Muhammad al-Dagh': "Imbalance in Rural Gas Supplies; Cylinders Sell for 75 Syrian Liras Each"]

[Text] Propane gas is now sold on the black market in the al-Ladhiqiyah governorate, where a cylinder with a controlled price of 40 Syrian liras fetches 75 liras. This is a fairly clear indication of imbalances in the supply of gas to consumers.

Winter in al-Ladhiqiyah does not usually cause increased demand for propane gas as it does in the provinces of the interior. There are very few homes that use gas for heating and people have no need to light fires for warmth because winters in the coastal areas are mild. And yet, the quest for gas cylinders has become a serious problem.

The distributors we interviewed assured us that they are not receiving supplies at former levels. The scarcity of cylinders forces distributors to wait a few days before they get back the cylinders they must dispatch to a center in al-Ladhiqiyah for recharging. Some distributors complained of the lack of fairness in allotting cylinders to distributors, etc., etc.

For the sake of research, it was imperative to visit the Sadcorp [as published] branch at al-Ladhiqiyah and the center located at al-Raml al-Shamali.

Ibrahim Bidur, manager of al-Ladhiqiyah branch, said that the problem was not a shortage of gas but the lack of adequate empty cylinders. Asked about the number of reserve cylinders available at the branch, he said: There is none at all. The charging unit utilizes cylinders supplied by some 360 distributors throughout the governorate.

The branch manager emphatically denied any unfairness or favoritism in supplying distributors with cylinders. He said that [company] books and records would bear him out and that he was willing to look into any distributor complaint.

As for the black market availability of propane cylinders for 75 Syrian liras, he said that his responsibility ends and that of the supply department and its oversight begins when distributors receive the cylinders. He admitted to a shortage of propane gas in remote rural areas because of the lack of means of transportation. He said that the company's vehicles can not handle the delivery of some 150,000 cylinders a month to distributors scattered all over the governorate.

We learned that each distributor receives an average of 950 cylinders per month and that the Burj al-Islam unit commits 60 percent of its output to the city of al-Ladhiqiyah and the remainder is distributed among Jablah, al-Qirdahah, al-Haffah, and the countryside.

He expressed hope that next month would bring an end to the cylinder shortage, since 1000 gas cylinders were received a few days ago from the defense works. Another 1,500 cylinders should arrive in a week to help with the recycling of cylinders and with the maintenance of reserve inventory at the branch.

Parenthetically, there are 36 types of cylinders in use in al-Ladhiqiyah. AL-BA'TH learned that Al-Sahil Company was awarded a contract 20 January for construction of a butane charging unit in Buqa, rather than the Burj al-Islam unit which charges 6,000 cylinders daily.

We conclude by mentioning that the Baniyas unit, the contract for which was awarded in 1982, is still the ideal vehicle for supplying the entire coast with gas cylinders. We believe, though, that work on that unit has come to a standstill.

#### **Shortage in Damascus Described**

90OL0311B Damascus AL BA'TH  
in Arabic 22 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Khaldun Taha: "Mahruqat Manager: The Gas Crisis Is Over"]

[Text] AL-BA'TH sought out Ra'fat al-Kurdi, general manager of Mahruqat fuel company, to discuss the reasons for the gas distribution crisis which erupted several times lately in Damascus and the surrounding rural areas. There is no doubt that the crisis was in large measure a true reflection of distributor greed. No sooner did demand increase in the months of January and February than they concealed the gas and began to profiteer.

The director responded: In fact, things get difficult for us in the fuel business in January and February of every year. Demand for heating fuel and gas peaks from mid-January to mid-March. With this in mind, Mahruqat prepares for it to the best of its ability, but circumstances do not always permit us to achieve ideal results.

This year, for instance, it happened that the letter of credit for the purchase of liquefied gas was moved by the Syrian Commercial Bank from a French bank to a Greek bank. The exporter objected and held back contract

shipments for almost two weeks from 29 December to 13 January until we were able to open a new letter of credit and transfer the draft to the desired bank.

That caused depletion of inventory at 'Adra. Charger units at 'Adra, al-Suwayda', and Dar'a began to operate on the basis of "Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread" by working with whatever empties arrived daily. Obviously, this caused an output drop at the three units that supply the southern provinces of the country.

#### **Rolling Tankers Idled by Tire Shortages**

He added: The situation became especially acute because several rolling tankers were idled by tire shortages. That was another problem which the firm handled early by securing enough exchange to procure all the tires needed for 1990. Unfortunately, the first shipment of those tires arrived in mid-January but could not be released from customs until 17 February. We were therefore hit with two unforeseen problems simultaneously and at the most difficult time of the year.

That caused a decline of distributions to Damascus and its countryside. Distribution to rural Damascus dropped in January to 82 percent of the level originally planned. The decline was less acute in Damascus because the city is supplied only by 'Adra, whereas the countryside is supplied by both 'Adra and al-Suwayda'.

The company has taken special steps to return things to normal as soon as possible. It is improving rolling tanker transportation by training drivers. It has already received a large lot of imported tires and is continuing to outfit idle tankers with them. We anticipate that all tankers will be ready by the end of this month. We are currently working to repair the inventory at the 'Adra charging facility whose output has considerably increased since the beginning of February.

#### **No More Distribution Bottleneck**

It is possible to say that the bottleneck that occurred late in January and early in February is almost over and the situation is currently near normal and is improving daily. We assure our citizen brethren that the product is available in adequate supply, that the transport situation is improving, and that output has returned to normal.

We relayed to the manager of Mahruqat that citizens have complained of the absence of the trucks that used to make street distributions during previous gas crises. He responded:

#### **Retail Trucks**

Trucks that distribute cylinders in certain areas of Damascus are mostly retailer-owned. Mahruqat trucks cover few centers. Mahruqat cooperates with retailers by scheduling distribution with a view to avoiding bottlenecks. Weekly schedules spell out distribution volume and designate the time and place where the trucks will be available. We believe that these steps are

adequate to avoid oversights and delays. We sometimes receive complaints of driver misbehavior or mishandling of cylinders which are supposed to be sold to consumers directly.

We ask citizens to notify the retailer or Mahruqat of whatever distribution violation comes to their attention. They may call 233-077 and we will follow up with utmost diligence.

## AFGHANISTAN

### Mujahidin Defense Minister Discusses Military Situation

90AS0003A London AL-HAWADITH  
in Arabic 9 Mar 90 pp 38-39

[Interview with Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, mujahidin defense minister: "We Will Not Be Victims of International Detente, We Reject Truce With Kabul Regime"; in Riyadh; date not given; first six paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[Text] Riyadh—Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, defense minister in the Afghan mujahidin government, told AL-HAWADITH that mujahidin forces control strategic positions overlooking the city of Khowst, near the Pakistan border, and have occupied strategic Mount Turgal, no more than seven km from the besieged city. The mountain had been planted with mines. He added that important positions around the city are surrendering one after another. Control has been tightened around the city, so that it will fall into the hands of the mujahidin forces because of the siege, thus avoiding loss of lives and property by residents of the city.

He said that the Kabul regime's forces are trying to strengthen their besieged garrisons inside the city with the most modern weapons, equipment, and ammunition they have recently obtained from the Soviet Union. MIG-27 aircraft are launching daily raids from high altitudes that the mujahidin's rockets and artillery cannot reach because of the advanced technology that this kind of aircraft employs.

Muhammadi announced that the mujahidin government is continuing its urgent efforts to strengthen unity within mujahidin ranks and that it is now forming a new *shura* [advisory] council from influential figures in the provinces. He said that the council will consist of 2,170 members—10 from each province [as published], and that it will meet within the next two months, at which time a vote of confidence in the provisional government will be proposed.

Muhammadi said that the Defense Ministry is carrying on its operations from inside liberated Afghanistan. A united general command has been formed for the mujahidin groups, as well as a chief of staff and an operations staff. Seventeen military *shura* committees have been formed within the Defense Ministry to manage the affairs of the mujahidin. These committees are composed of field commanders who belong to various groups and parties carrying on the holy war. Eighty-member inspection and surveillance bodies have been formed in each liberated province to follow military events and ensure that weapons, food, and medical supplies reach the mujahidin at the fronts. He added that the Defense Ministry's first concern was team spirit and harmony among field commanders of different sectors. Next

comes ensuring supplies of food, ammunition, and equipment, and keeping up with the map of military operations.

The defense minister announced that mujahidin forces are suffering a severe shortage of weapons and ammunition and that this shortage has come at a critical turn in the holy war. He said these things in the interview that AL-HAWADITH conducted to explore the state of the Afghan holy war and the extent to which it has been affected by international changes, especially in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The following conversation took place:

[AL-HAWADITH] Where are you in relation to Kabul? Why has the capture of cities taken so long?

[Muhammadi] The military situation is good—praise be to God—and is continually advancing and improving; but on the political level, things are becoming critical, complex, complicated, and ever-changing. The holy war and its forces are beset by a number of erroneous views on the international level, because we want Islamic rule and a government of the mujahidin. This is the nature of our people and their demand. Our people will accept no other kind of rule; the same cycle of events will befall any other rulers. Why do they want to impose an expanded government on us, either with the communists or with others? They are also maneuvering against us with the deposed king. The world develops, and events succeed each other uninterruptedly; one cannot go back again. The Russians tried once to attack our country through their agents whom they set up as rulers over us by trickery, deception, plots, and espionage. Another time, they came with their forces and weapons, wanting to impose communist government and Marxist thought. But they sank into the clutches of the holy war. Their rule was shaken. They lost their power to awe. Their own government became shabby, living under the American shadow, and sustaining itself on American relief. The mujahidin have beaten down their ideological pride and legendary arrogance. Now they are binding up their wounds in the smallest of their annexed countries, Lithuania. This ministate, with a population under 3 million, now is demanding complete independence and that those who called for its annexation into this so-called union be condemned.

In general, the challenges before us are many and great. The conspiracies around us are numerous. But with God's permission, we will be steadfast. Now the world is witnessing the fall and collapse of the communist regimes and the erosion of the communist-Marxist entity from within. All this can be attributed to God's help to the Afghan mujahidin, who stripped the red tyranny of its pride and showed it to be the fake that it is.

[AL-HAWADITH] Some think that you will be the victim of international detente and that there is an international deal being "cooked up" for you.



[Muhammadi] Victory is in the hands of God, may He be praised! We are a race of mujahidin. We have chosen the path of martyrdom. On this path, we are not concerned about defeat or death. We have pledged ourselves to God. More than 1 and 1/2 million of our mujahidin have died as martyrs, and more than 1 million have been wounded, including 1/2 million who have been crippled. The developments in which we are witnessing the fall of the communist regimes can be considered episodes in the ongoing victory of the Muslims and the mujahidin. We know the truth about ourselves. We cannot be the victim of international detente or anything else.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you expect an explosion inside Kabul against Najib's forces?

[Muhammadi] Of course we expect an explosion soon. The morale of the besieged armed forces or the militias is collapsing, as shown by the fact that senior officers and officials in Najib's government have joined the ranks of the mujahidin. Most of them held high offices and commands, but they saw with their own eyes that the mujahidin were winning and the fragility of Najib's regime that relies on violence, spying, and foreign support. There is no doubt that Afghanistan is dear to the hearts of its people, and that party affiliations will always be choices that can be changed when a person discovers his error and the falsity of the choice. They brought 170,000 soldiers into our country. They burned, destroyed, and used violence on peaceful people. How often the people have seen the secret police raid houses, or what you call dawn visits, violating the privacy of homes, and arresting young people opposed to their rule. In this way, the state lost its relationship with the people after Afghanistan from one end to another had sunk into a sea of blood.

The 10 years of holy war have proved that communism does not suit the nature of the Islamic countries. Mutiny by army units and officials in the country therefore became a common occurrence. Despite the savagery of the Najib regime and its intelligence agencies, reports of mutinies against it have become public and are spreading everywhere. The areas of popular resistance are widening continually. I assure you that the fate of the entire communist government is threatened by the explosion. With God's permission, the blows of the mujahidin will catch up with it.

[AL-HAWADITH] President Muhammad Najibullah has offered you peace and participation in an expanded government with leaders of his party. Why do you not accept?

[Muhammadi] What should we accept? We are mujahidin. We rose up to support God's religion and repel the disease of communism from our country. We are not politicians who accept and reject. The question is for the people to decide. They have spoken by forming a Islamic government that carries on holy war. The people will accept no alternative to it. How can we shake hands with

those who slaughtered our people, rendered families homeless, made children orphans, and made women widows?

[AL-HAWADITH] You say that the Russian supply operation for the Najib government is continuing. What are the dimensions of these operations?

[Muhammadi] Yes, supply operations continue. We have proof of it. The Russians went out by the door to come back by the window in the form of military advisors, along with a flood of terrible destructive weapons. There are (SCUD) missiles, Mig-27 aircraft, various internationally banned chemical weapons, and cluster bombs. Some have estimated the value of Soviet military supplies to Kabul at about \$3 billion a year. The Russians have carried on the greatest and longest supply operation in modern history.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the supplies that are reaching you?

[Muhammadi] We are suffering a great shortage of weapons, ammunition, food, and medicine. We call on the Islamic nation to rise to our aid. The mujahidin live under cruel conditions of the greatest difficulty. Their families live under the open sky. The relief supplies reaching us, despite their meagerness, have decreased greatly. Conditions of the refugees in Pakistan have deteriorated to a great extent. As you know, the Soviet attack on our country turned our people into the world's largest national refugee group. More than 3 million individuals have taken refuge in Pakistan alone. They are saying that Afghanistan has been forgotten. I ask the Islamic world and the conscience of mankind, Is this true?

[AL-HAWADITH] Some think that you are living in a stage of no military resolution. Is this the case?

[Muhammadi] No, it is not. The mujahidin succeeded in repelling the Russian forces with smaller numbers and supplies and less experience in military matters. Now, however, there are united, coordinated, and organized operations and military planning conducted by experienced leaders. We reject the claim by the Western media that we are carrying on a guerrilla war. We all know that guerrilla war means hit-and-run or hit-and-hide. This has not happened to us. The strategy of the holy war has been based on a number of principles. These include full confrontation with the attacking Russian forces and the puppet government's militias in military resistance operations, along with continuous pressure in attacking them on all fronts and in all regions. We have been attacking them even even if their forces were superior to ours in numbers, weapons, and supplies. Instead of hiding, we have besieged their positions and main cities. We have launched rocket attacks against airports and the landing fields of their aircraft. We have cut their supply or withdrawal routes. Most of the time, we have controlled important passes such as the Tawar Kham [Khyber] pass, the Salang pass, and others. There has been complete unity between mujahidin forces and the Afghan people

at home in a total holy war, in the framework of action to protect innocent residents and not subject them to hits during the shelling of cities. We therefore find ourselves obliged to extend the period of siege for the cities, so that we minimize casualties, and to wait for the right occasion for an attack. This certainly does not mean a condition of no military resolution. We are waiting for the right occasion. With God's help, it will be soon.

[AL-HAWADITH] The mujahidin government has issued a statement condemning the massacres in Muslim Azerbaijan in the Soviet Union. Will there be coordination between you and the mujahidin there?

[Muhammadi] Of course we condemn these massacres of peaceful Muslims. This is nothing new for the Russians. They carried out similar massacres in our country against 1 and ½ million Afghans. Continued massacres of Muslims in Central Asia are to be expected from them. As is well known, there are six republics in Russia with a Muslim majority. They have a population of 50 million, or approximately 20 percent of the population of Russia as a whole.

The Muslim inhabitants of these areas have ethnic and cultural relations with us. They resemble us not only in Islamic religion, but also in language, customs, and traditions. The success of the Islamic holy war in Afghanistan has therefore encouraged them to undertake an Islamic holy war there. This is a result of the shaking of political and military confidence within Russia—not of perestroika, as the Russians are trying to make the world believe. In general, the place to discuss and debate these massacres in the Islamic republics of the Soviet Union is the United Nations and the Islamic Conference Organization. I do not think that the mujahidin there need any aid from us. They enjoy God's blessing and are carrying on a genuine holy war. As for us, a difficult, vital, and decisive period lies before us: regaining Kabul and other cities from the communist militias, overthrowing Najib's government, and cleansing the country from the clutches of communism and Marxism.

[AL-HAWADITH] Some say that relations between the mujahidin government and the Pakistani Government are lukewarm.

[Muhammadi] That is what malicious and envious people want and hope for. They are driving a wedge into the historic relations between the people of two fraternal countries. Pakistan, government and people, has helped us throughout the years of the holy war. We will never forget their kindness and the generosity of their leaders. They gave us the aid and support we wanted and opened the territory of their country to shelter our emigrants.

I assure you that there is no lukewarmness in our relations.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why did you recently visit Saudi Arabia? What were the results of this visit?

[Muhammadi] We visited Saudi Arabia to perform the lesser pilgrimage. We used the opportunity to meet our brother Saudi officials, especially the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, who stood beside us in all tribulations and supported our holy war from its very first day. Saudi Arabia's stand on the side of the Afghan holy war and its constant support for it have been strong and outstanding. Saudi Arabia continues to stand beside us sincerely, actively, and effectively. In his session with us, King Fahd gave us even more reason for trust, zeal, and faith and promised to participate in the plan for rebuilding Afghanistan. We cannot forget the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It was the first country to recognize the mujahidin government. It was the country that helped us occupy Afghanistan's seat in the Islamic Conference Organization. That is only to be expected from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and from the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, who devotes such great attention to the causes of Muslims in all parts of the world.

## INDIA

### BJP Victory in Madhya Pradesh Analyzed

90AS0006A New Delhi DINMAN TIMES  
in Hindi 4-10 Mar 90 p 7

[Analysis by Arun Vardhan]

[Text] Regarding the Congress defeat in Madhya Pradesh legislative elections, the Chief Minister Shyamcharan Shukla commented that the reasons for the Congress defeat were the anti-reservation movement and Ram's birth place controversy. This is only a half truth and even if we assume it to be the truth, it holds true only for the Hindu-majority areas. Meanwhile his commentary helps to downplay the political upheaval in Madhya Pradesh during the past five years of Congress rule, which had a hand in the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] victory and the Congress' defeat in Madhya Pradesh.

The Congress' silence also had an effect on the anti-reservation movement. Believing the basis of reservations to be economic, the BJP sided with opponents of reservation. This was part of well thought out politics because the BJP knew that it did not have a popular base among the backward people in rural areas. This anti-reservation policy gave the BJP political support against the Congress. This anti-reservation movement took a violent form, but the Congress did not issue any policy statement on this subject.

The BSP [Baspā—Bahujan Samaj Party] also played a role in the BJP's victory. It fielded 184 candidates. These candidates were fielded from those areas where Muslims and scheduled castes were in majority. Scheduled castes and Muslims have traditionally voted for Congress. This strategy of the BSP dealt a three pronged blow to the Congress. This is important in order to understand recent political results in Madhya Pradesh.

What happened in Madhya Pradesh is a reflection of policy changes in the Congress' central leadership. Rajiv's advisors were briefing him that he should create his own team by dumping excellent leaders who had worked with Indira Gandhi. Under this policy, a push was given to leaders like Ahmed Patel in Gujarat, Priyaranjan Das Munshi in Bengal, and Sunil Shastri in Uttar Pradesh. Under the same policy, in Madhya Pradesh, Rajiv Gandhi gave his blessings to Motilal Vohra and Madhavrao Sindhya. But here this strategy did not prove very fruitful because Arjun Singh had lots of supporters in the legislature.

The practice of destabilizing Arjun Singh had grave consequences for the state Congress. Finally, his supporters adopted an aggressive attitude. They would come to Delhi in the form of a delegation and hand the prime minister a memorandum asking for removal of Vohra. Finally he was removed, and on 14 February 1988, Arjun Singh once again became the chief minister. By then, Rajiv Gandhi had lost Vishawnath Pratap Singh, Arun Nehru, and Arun Singh. To save Madhya Pradesh, it became imperative to depute Arjun Singh.

In the course of nine months, Arjun Singh made three decisions in order to strengthen the Congress base. These were—the decision to provide more land to the landless, land rights for the urban landless, and the Tendu policy, which proved to be very controversial. Because of this, Tendu rights were snatched from contractor traders and private hands and given over to aborigines cooperative committees. This policy hurt big contractors and bid industrialists of Chhatisgarh and Bastar because they had to forego trade worth four billion Rupees.

How far the Tendu Patta policy was effective can be judged from the fact that, out of the eight constituencies where the Congress was successful in the last parliamentary elections, six candidates were returned victorious from Tendu Patta or Chattisgarh area.

It is the Tendu lobby that controls Madhya Pradesh politics. Every chief minister, from Ravishankar Shukla to Vohra, has been elected from there. Arjun Singh was from Bundelkhand. Therefore, he had no difficulty enforcing the Tendu Patta policy. Following the Churhat lottery case, this very lobby, once again removed him from office. Finally, before the elections, Shyamcharan Shukla was inducted as chief minister and Arjun Singh was installed as chief of the state Congress party.

At the time of every crisis, the High Command had to bring back Arjun Singh. But he was not allowed to build a popular base. Nearly 90 of his candidates were denied party nominations. These include Bansilal Unrat Lahre (Chattisgarh), Ramshankar Singh (from the Raun area of Mandla), Bhagvachan Singh Yadav (Lashkar East, Gwalior), and five other supporters of Ajit Jogi, who were very strong in their respective constituencies. From 1985 to 1989 there were many a twists and turns in the Madhya Pradesh politics. Following a great victory in 1984, Ajit Singh was removed from the office of chief

ministership and sent to Punjab as governor. Motilal Vohra succeeded him as chief minister. Vohra's tenure ran from 1980 to 1985. According to informed circles, he devoted all his energies to destroying former chief minister Arjun Singh's man. According to the Congress circles, Rajiv Gandhi and Madhavrao Sindhya encouraged this campaign, but it could not succeed because 180 out of the 240 Congress legislators were Arjun Singh's men. It is they who had distributed party nominations.

Because of this campaign of the High Command, there is, for the first time, a deep division within the Madhya Pradesh Congress. Every Madhya Pradesh constituency was divided between pro-Arjun Singh and anti-Arjun Singh supporters. The candidates began to be judged on this very touchstone.

Thus, the Congress fell victim to internecine warfare. Even before the elections, the results were clear. However, even the BJP did not expect such a glorious victory.

### **Commentary: Defense Policy Vital Before Spending**

90AS00084 New Delhi JANSATT.1  
in Hindi 7 Mar 90 p 6

[Commentary by Abhay Kumar Dubey: "Expenses Secondary to Defense Policy"]

[Text] The embarrassing dialogue over the defense budget between V.P. Singh and Rajiv Gandhi has stopped along with the election propaganda. This will relieve the people who want the Rashtariya Morcha Government's defense policy to be more realistic and according to the modern defense science. Pakistani interference in Kashmir, the increasing danger of war on the border, Rajiv Gandhi's calling the Rashtariya Morcha a weak government and raising the question of national pride, and the demands of the election propaganda had forced Mr. Singh to accuse the Gandhi government of weakening the nation by reducing the defense budget. Rajiv taunted back by saying that small nations did not have the nerve even to look in India's eyes during his rule. Both of these claims are nowhere near the truth.

Rajiv Gandhi is credited with increasing the defense budget from five billion rupees to 150 billion rupees during his five years. He was accused of moving money from developmental projects to defense and of India buying weapons insanely in order to establish its superiority over neighboring countries. Therefore, we cannot accuse Rajiv Gandhi of reducing the defense budget. He was guilty of increasing the defense budget in the name of modernization. He had no alternative but to spend more money just to make sure that the money spent in the past was not wasted. The present defense budget is caught in this vicious cycle of spiraling budget increases. Cutting the defense budget would mean wasting all the money that has already been spent. We can say that Rajiv Gandhi's bragging about other countries being afraid of India because of his strong defense policy was totally wrong. Mr. Premadasa, the Sri Lankan president,

all but declared war against Rajiv Gandhi over the question of the return of Indian troops. Nepal had totally denied Rajiv's supremacy. From a defense point of view, India was isolated in the subcontinent in 1988-89. The new government is still trying to fix the defense and foreign policy lemon that the Rajiv government produced. The war against the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] in Sri Lanka left a question mark for our armed forces. The Indian army was involved in a war outside of its national boundaries and it had to leave without winning or losing.

Now that the election propaganda has stopped, Mr. V.P. Singh does not have to make any excuses. He does not even have to carry a larger flag representing national pride. He can think about his defense policy realistically and try to link it with his foreign policy. However, one of the election promises that he had made in his last public meeting in Pune will haunt him. He had promised to increase defense spending. This was an unnecessary announcement which does not go with V.P. Singh and his government's liberal image. A government which has been crying about the lack of resources and an empty treasury just cannot afford to make such announcements when it becomes nervous about the Pakistani threat. It would have been better if Mr. Singh had started a campaign about making the best use of the money being spent. He could have criticized Rajiv Gandhi's lack of a solid and planned policy which caused wastage in the defense budget.

It can be easily assumed that there is no relationship between a larger defense budget and a real increase in national security. A nation can still be unsafe even after a lot of unnecessary expenses. The three branches of the armed forces can continue bothering the prime minister and the finance minister for more money. Examples of squandering money are everywhere as there was no organized defense policy. In 1988, the army found that it has no money left to pay its telephone bills. Naval personnel sent to the United Kingdom for training had to return as the money set aside for their living expenses was already spent. The northern command of the army had a hard time procuring rations for the soldiers stationed in Kashmir and Laddakh as money was not appropriated in time. The 12th Corps formed in Jodhpur in 1986 was not allotted money until recently for communication and buildings. The Army had bought a large fleet of cannons, tanks, and trucks hoping that the budget would allow these expenses. Now, all these equipment are rusting. All these deficits occurred when we were spending 120 to 130 billion rupees annually!

Our country has led the world in importing weapons since 1986. We bought weapons worth \$5.2 billion last year. This is more than the combined imports by Iran and Iraq and 12 times more than Pakistan's weapon budget. The Indian Air Force which flies MIG and Mirage planes does not have any decent training airplanes. The army which boasts T-72 tanks does not have the resources to replace the old 105 mm Abbot cannons. It is common knowledge that the self-loading rifles used

by our soldiers are useless against the AK-47 rifles of the Punjabi terrorists and the Kalashnikovs used by Kashmiri terrorists. Still, the army has neither the money nor any plans to replace the self-loading rifles.

Where does this huge budget go? The government has not done anything for the soldiers except paying them salaries and pensions. Our government is at least 50 years behind in providing decent lodgings for our armed forces. We did not fight any major war during the 80's. The army was used in Operation Blue Star in 1984, in the Siachen skirmishes in 1986, in Sri Lanka in 1986, and in the Maldives campaign in 1988. None of these can be classified in the same category as the wars of 1962, 1965, and 1971. The Sri Lanka campaign proved to be very expensive. A conservative estimate puts the daily expenses over 30 million rupees. The expenses on the peace mission headquarters in Madras were very cleverly shifted to other areas so that the people were not shocked at the actual expenses incurred in Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lanka campaign does not only raise questions over wastage and the feeling of patriotism tied to a war, but also about the whole defense policy. Should we expand a blue water navy after our experience in the Maldives and Sri Lanka? It is sad to learn that we started building a blue water navy before this question was even discussed. Defense policy is decided by the dangers on a country's borders. The main danger to India is from Pakistan and China, and there is no ocean between these countries and India. Any war fought with these countries would be mainly by land and air, therefore, we should emphasize development in these two branches of the armed forces. The money spent on the navy during the last five years does not agree with the defense policy projections. The Vikrant, our first aircraft carrier, was retired without seeing any action. It could not be used even in the 1971 war.

It appears that the government has decided to focus on the navy after improving its army and the air force and being satisfied with its ability to deal with China and Pakistan. Actually, it is not true. We have demonstrated earlier that our army has many drawbacks. Technically, our army is about five to 10 years ahead of the Chinese army. However, should there be a war, we do not think we can defeat China. Why do we lack self confidence? Why don't we have faith in our army after purchasing weapons worth \$5.3 billion and spending 130 to 150 billion rupees annually on our armed forces? Will we be any better after getting more weapons? No. This would be possible only when we have a well contemplated defense policy. Our present defense policy is reactive to Chinese and Pakistani actions. We buy a specific cannon if Pakistan buys it. The notorious Bofors deal is an example of this tendency. Pakistan is asking for AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] from the United States and we are asking the Soviet Union for a similar air radar system. Now, that Pakistan is not getting the AWACS, we are not very eager to get an air radar system. We cannot call this attitude a premeditated defense policy. The defense Research and Analysis



Center was established to develop defense policy. All this center did was to discuss whether to make the atomic bomb or not. Its director, K. Subrahnum, became the official spokesman for the pro atomic bomb lobby. What is more, he even gave us the idea of making atomic weapons to reduce our defense budget!

The failure of this center in developing a defense policy looks much worse when we learn that our defense policy makers do not have much knowledge about our armed forces war history. Our army had to go through very different experiences from the tribal attack in Kashmir to the 1971 war. It obtained experience in fighting guerrillas in Nagaland, Mizoram, and Manipur. It fought battles in the Himalayas during the war with China. It fought with Pakistan in Kashmir and Kutch. No authorized history of these wars has been written. The people know nothing about these wars and the military officers know very little. If a dozen colonels are asked a question about Indo-Pakistani wars, we will get a dozen different answers from them. Indian military officers have a lot more knowledge about campaigns in Europe and the United States because they can easily get materials on their war history. They have the healthy tradition of writing reports on battles and having discussions about them. The Falklands campaign was not a major war, but there is a lot of material in the market about it. Had the Indian armed forces analyzed their own wars, they would not have been insulted by the LTTE in Sri Lanka. Why couldn't the Indian soldiers who had so successfully contained the armed rebels in Nagaland, Mizoram, and Manipur control the rebels in Sri Lanka? We can say that they did not have enough time. But how did they manage to lose so much in so little time? The major reason for this was that this "counter insurgency operation" was presented to them as a "political war."

If Mr. V.P. Singh wants to be known for increasing national pride, then he should order the formulation of a defense policy before he authorizes spending a single penny on defense. It does not matter how much money is spent as long as the defense expenses are not viewed as throwing money in a deep well. The poor people of this country cannot afford it.

#### **Commentary Discusses BJP's 'Hindu Card', Advises Middle Course**

90010219A Bombay NABHARAT TIMES  
in Hindi 23 Feb 90 p 6

[Article by Suryakant Bali: "This Tiger Has Its Weaknesses"]

[Text] The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] is not supporting the Vishwanath Pratap Singh government at the center because it is the kind of government that it wants, but because it just does not want the Congress party back in the seat. In other words, the BJP's approval of the Rashtariya Morcha Government is for the wrong reasons. Many left wing parties have approved the new government for the same reason. However, the Marxist

Communist Party is not the subject of discussion here and we shall focus on the BJP only.

The BJP is worried that the Congress party will return to power if the V.P. Singh government fails. Therefore, it is supporting the V.P. Singh government to avoid the recurrence of the bitter experience of 1979 when the Janata party dissidents, angry at Jan Sangh, paved the way for Indira Gandhi's return to power. The BJP is, therefore, providing as much cooperation as possible and taking little in return to ensure that the V.P. Singh government remains.

Does the V.P. Singh government have a similar goal for the BJP support for it? Obviously, no! Mr. Singh, of course, would like his government to be long lasting (when would a prime minister want his government to fall?) However, he has not taken the vow to keep Congress out. His goal is to keep Rajiv Gandhi, and not the Congress party, out of the government. He can achieve this goal following different strategies. Rajiv Gandhi cannot return if the present structure is maintained and the Bofors incident is kept in public focus. Rajiv has not shown any indication or promise to continue a political fight. Rajiv cannot return even when the Congress supports V.P. Singh. We have no doubt which path Mr. Singh will follow. The third option is most appropriate and he appears to be leaning toward it. In order to stay in power, he has to get the support of a Rajiv-less Congress and get rid of the BJP approval.

Thus, while the BJP is supporting Mr. Singh to keep the Congress party out, Mr. Singh is accepting this support until he can join forces with Congress to give the nation a government with the old Congress soul! The government of this specific soul requires that he get rid of the BJP and make it weak. Where does the BJP fit in this scenario?

The BJP would say that it has not vowed to permanently support the Singh government. The BJP supported this government to keep the Congress party out and to form its own government at the center some day. However, can the BJP's dream to be at the center be realized? We need to examine this from various points.

The immediate problem for the BJP is how to best use the present government for its own interests. However, what exactly are the BJP interests? The BJP fought the last elections as a pure Hindu party. It asked for ending Section 370 Kashmir, stopping all minority groups, and the return of Ram Janambhumi to the Hindus. The BJP touted these three to make itself attractive to the Hindus and benefited from it. The greatest benefit for it was the solid support of the Hindus in 1989-90. It had lost that kind of support in 1977, when the Janata party lost its hold at the center. It also won 88 seats in the Lok Sabha by using the anti-Congress sentiment. Now it is on its way to form governments in four states.

Why would the Rashtariya Morcha government try to make the BJP look good? Mr. Singh won with the help of the Muslim vote. How can he eliminate minority groups?

Why would he want to anger the Muslims by giving Ayodhya to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad? He would not even mention Section 370. The whole Muslim vote would then leave him for Rajiv Gandhi. He will find a solution to the Ayodhya problem that may not make him a Hindu benefactor, but keep his image as someone who cares. Thus, V.P. Singh can cash the Hindu card that the BJP has developed during the last three or four years in the next Lok Sabha elections. Mrs. Gandhi had used the same strategy in Jammu and Punjab and had made the BJP look unnecessary.

The message is clear. The Hindu card that the BJP wants to use for political victories has its limits and those are very obvious. The Hindus at present are in a specific mood about their political interests. The Hindus are not factionalists and out of habit cannot unite as a faction. Even when they unite, the union does not last long. We call it the combination of the historical weakness and internal strength.

The second limitation is that there is no guarantee that the Hindus will continue looking at the BJP for their interests. The "card" may be prepared by the BJP, but other parties can superimpose their names on it. That is what happened in the past.

The third limitation is the possibility of Mr. Singh finding a solution to the Ayodhya problem that does not upset the Hindus during the next four months. Then the "Hindu" card will lose its effectiveness. The tiger that the BJP rode to help its warrior image will return to its lair. The tiger will go to sleep and will not wake up for some time.

Since the Hindu card is so obvious, the BJP will find itself on the crossroads soon. If it does not examine its priorities immediately, this crossroad might change into a dead end street. The BJP has already reaped some benefits through its present priorities. Some policies have been approved because of BJP's strong pro-Hindu stance, just as Jawaharlal Nehru had to adopt a strong anti-Pakistani stand over the Kashmir issue to accommodate Jansangh's nationalist policies. No government or party will try to placate the minorities as they did in the past. Secondly, the phase during which the Hindus were tormented by the secular lobby has also passed.

Third, it would be appropriate for the BJP to consider that it has peaked keeping in view the support it has generated from the Hindi-speaking areas and the number of seats it has won in the Lok Sabha. If it succeeds in forming governments in Madhya Pradesh, Himachal, and Rajasthan on its own and emerges as a major force in Bihar, Gujrat, and Maharashtra, then the BJP would be way ahead of Jan Sangh. What more is left there? It is obvious that the BJP cannot go any further by using the Hindu card. This card can give it a limited support in West Bengal and Kerala. However, to maintain this card in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Assam on one side and Jammu, Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh on

the other side, the BJP must make changes in its economic and social policies the way it did in its religious policies through the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Otherwise, the BJP will find itself totally helpless trying to make the poor voters standing behind the BSP [Basma—Bahujan Samaj Party] and the low caste and minority voters standing behind the Janata Dal its own voters. Finding a new path would be the BJP's business, not ours. The BJP should take the middle course for the sake of our country. It is not a good idea that the Congress should be only one national party in a country like India. There should be three or four such parties. In order to become a national party, the BJP has no alternative but to take the middle course.

### Commentary on Ideological 'Crisis' Facing Communists

90010217A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 28 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by Shivdas Bannerji: "The CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Leadership Should Emerge Competent To Transcend the Crisis"]

[Text] The tenor that emerges from the deferential homage offered by the party comrades in memory of Saroj Mukherjee, the late state secretary and politburo member of the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist], is—faith in the purity and infallibility of Marxism-Leninism—the conviction on which Mr. Mukherjee remained unwavering throughout his long political career until his death. All his life he shunned vainglory and tried to win the people's heart through politeness and patience.

Chief Minister Jyoti Basu used the most unambiguous language at the memorial assembly organised by the Left Front. He said that no change would be possible if the common people were not made conscious politically and consolidated on the basis of Marxism. To attain this goal, it is necessary to work hand in hand with people who believe in different ideology and political creed. Mr. Benoy Choudhury, Saroj Mukherjee's life-long friend and colleague and the state minister for land reforms and Panchayati Raj [system of village-level administration], stressed this aspect, too. He said, "Various crises and problems have surfaced in many socialist countries and it is unfortunate that Saroj Mukherjee left us during such hard days." Mr. Benoy Choudhury did not explain the nature of this crisis; he only said, "Maybe, we will have to go forward in certain areas and step back in some other, but our goal nevertheless will be the classless exploitationless society."

It can be assumed, from such brief reference to the crises of socialism, to what extent Leftism in India especially parties like the CPI [Communist Party of India] and the CPI-M have been facing serious problems of credibility like the predicament of the Leftists in general all over the Third World. In the case of the Indian communists, this crisis is multi-dimensional. From one point of view, it is

an intellectual challenge to the leadership. Mr. Benoy Choudhury's lament about the timing of Saroj Mukherjee's demise points to this dimension of the crisis. The party leadership—whether it is the CPI-M, the CPI, or the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party]—is aging, even if they have not become morons intellectually. The average age at the highest policy-making body of the CPI-M is too high. Of them, Saroj Mukherjee is no more. Mr. B. T. Randive and Mr. Nripen Chakravorty, the other two politburo members, have become sort of inert recently due to indifferent health. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the general secretary, is very old. Mr. M. Basavapunniah may not be a decrepit, but he is not physically fit any more. Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet got a new lease of life after treatment in Moscow. Apart from them, only Mr. Jyoti Basu is aware and active. Some other members of the Politburo are comparatively young, but their experience and ability is not like others.

In this respect the national leadership of the CPI and the state leadership of the CPI-M tend to employ similar endeavors. Since the past several years, the CPI-M is consciously trying to project young people in the leadership of both levels, so that they can take the responsibility from the old guard without creating any vacuum in the process. The effectiveness of this effort is yet to be ascertained. How much the young leaders have prepared themselves intellectually and how much credibility they are able to earn from the party followers leave much scope for doubt. Whether they would be able to remain cohesive raising themselves above personal ambition and factionalism is a pertinent question. Hence, the complexity of the problem.

The other dimension of the crisis is the changes in all the socialist countries of Eastern Europe which have debunked, with a single stroke, many accepted ideological and political notions of the international communist movement. What the ultimate scenario will be is difficult to predict. For example, Mr. Gorbachev in his speech on the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution had rejected the conceptions of contradiction between capitalism and socialism and between the developed and the developing nations of the Third World, and the validity and rationale of the international proletarian movement. He had rejected the ideas of class struggle among the developing nations on which the Indian communists have based their theories. Many internal and global compulsions might have induced Mr. Gorbachev in such theorisation of Glasnost-Perestroika. But as a result, parties like the CPI-M are feeling extreme unease. The CPI-M, like the Cuban communists, has distanced itself from such theories of Mr. Gorbachev because these theories are not acceptable to that party.

But the latest incidents in Eastern Europe and the recent changes in Russia and China have greatly increased the party's discomfort and confusion. The explanation and theories which they so long accepted as firm truth are now being questioned. Maybe the validity of Marxism has not directly been questioned, but some East European countries are distinctly on their way to the path of straying from Marxism.

The practical application of democratic centralism, the culture of the theory of the supremacy of the communist party in all the affairs have begotten oppressive centralism, bureaucratism, and corruption—so much so that the word "communist" has assumed a "dirty" connotation in many East European countries.

The theory of the surplus value which is at the core of Marxism or the efficacy of socialism in providing the minimum public demand of food, clothing, housing, education, and employment have not been proved otherwise. But that socialism has failed to keep pace with the changing time, failed to fine-tune itself with the development of technology and consumerism, leave no scope for doubt. From that perspective, it has less agility than capitalism. Centralised planning and its implementation, production through the public sector, and the policy of social control of the production laws, according to Mr. Jyoti Basu, could not fulfill many basic demands of the people and hence the outbreak of such discontent.

This reality has compelled the Russian and Chinese authorities to go for pluralism, ushering in many dramatic changes in many internal policies and programmes, so that power and authority can be widely shared and the programme of the party and the government becomes more democratic. In this process, limited private ownership of land and factories has been granted and a market economy has partially been introduced. These changes are so sudden and dazzling that they have raised doubts in the common people's mind about the alternative prestige and validity of Marxism as an effective eco-socio-political theory and system.

In this predicament, the CPI-M's dilemma can easily be presumed. The only consolation is that the Leftists in India are accustomed to working within a pluralistic society and system. On ideological and political matters, the CPI-M (unlike the CPI) was never dependent on Moscow or Beijing. But a Politburo delegation of the party would shortly tour both these countries to understand everything from a close proximity. The CPI-M as well as the Left leadership would have to explain these incidents to their followers in such a fashion that it appears acceptable to them and it complies with the Indian reality. Recurrent rhetoric about the infallibility of Marxism or the incidents in Eastern Europe as the failure of the party to educate the masses or as an imperialist conspiracy would not suffice today—rather it would appear as a clever detour to fool the public.

There are substantial differences of opinion about the significance of these earth-shaking changes in the countries where they have taken place. A section clearly prefers to go back to a market economy; others want to direct the party in a stronger and narrower way. The second possibility is foredoomed now. The majority want to stay within the wide parameters of Marxism after clearing the confusion and discontent, but a new evaluation, explanation, and practice of this theory is necessary for this. The Indian communists, voluntarily

or involuntarily, will have to choose one alternative. But is the present leadership in a condition to undertake the task?

It may be noted that Cuba has chosen its own path. The central party leadership is trying to better the standard of politico-organisational works after retaining intact democratic centralism and the supremacy of the party at all levels and avoiding the mistakes of their East European colleagues. They are not following any ready-made model—rather they depend on local demand and talent. Of late, the Indian Leftists are thinking in this line. According to Jyoti Basu, they have to fill in the political and organisational gaps from the lessons of Eastern Europe, not so much for survival, but more to become relevant. Personal ambition and factionalism may prove to be suicidal in this respect. Rather they should recite like a hymn, "United we stand, divided we fall."

## IRAN

### **Mohtashemi Interview on Resolution 598, U.S. Relations**

90AS0018B Tehran ETTELA'AT  
in Persian 19 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi in Ahvaz, date not specified]

[Text] Ahvaz—ETTELA'AT Correspondent: The way out of the impasse on Resolution 598 is not through direct or indirect talks or through diplomatic and political action. The way out of this impasse will be in the framework of our military and defense power inside and outside the country.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi, Tehran Majles deputy, gave an exclusive interview to our correspondent in Ahvaz, in which he explained the above matter. Concerning the way out of the Resolution 598 impasse, he said: Since the enemy is not willing to implement the resolution and the international powers will not allow Iraq to act on its commitments and international commitments to the resolution, we need two things to get out of this impasse. These two things are a reality that has been demonstrated throughout history. As long as a nation lacks high power and capability the enemy will not be willing to restore its rights, or in other words, this nation cannot obtain its rights. The power of the Islamic Republic of Iran was in two things and it can be.

First, internal power: The secret of this power is hidden in the words and the plan of Emam Khomeyni (May God Have Mercy on Him), with the implementation of the plan for the 20-million-man army the Imam ordered to be formed in Iran, to be trained and prepared to defend the nation and the aspirations of the Islamic revolution.

Naturally, when the enemy sees himself confronted with such a power, he submits to the rightful demands of the nation. After the acceptance of Resolution 598, we must continue to be active as in the past with training and the

20-million-man mobilization. We must build up the defense base in the areas of manpower and strategic defense weapons, and raise it to a high level.

The second thing is foreign power, another facet of the issue. We have very high ability and energy in the Islamic nations and even in the heart of the advanced world of the West, Europe and America. These forces consist of Muslim nations who love the revolution. Our enemies are terrified of the power, ability, and presence of the Islamic revolution beyond the borders of Iran. We can clearly see the capability of the Islamic revolution in distinct form in all the Islamic nations and everywhere there are Muslims.

The enemy cannot evaluate this capability. This ability and potential is an invisible unknown for the great powers. Therefore, our enemies are severely frightened of the Islamic Republic of Iran. If we have achieved notable victories in the world, and in the world of politics, and in connection with defense issue, it was because of this very high potential and capability. On this basis, the way out of the impasse on Resolution 598 is not through direct or indirect talks or through diplomatic and political action. The way out of this impasse will be in the framework of our military and defense power inside and outside the country.

A third proposition that is raised for getting out of this impasse is compromise or moderation towards the superpowers. They think that if the Islamic Republic of Iran gets into the framework of the international system and the so-called international laws, the superpowers will force Iraq to implement Resolution 598 and the impasse will be broken. This is unrealistic and false optimism, however. First of all, getting into the international system, which has been established in the world by the polytheist and infidel camp led by America, would cause us to give up the revolution and Islam, and then this nation and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran would not have the right to enforce its various laws. There would be neither the right to enforce the Constitution, the laws enacted by the Majles, nor the Law of Islamic Justice and Judges in this country. Rather, we would have to follow the laws and the system prevailing in the world. On the other hand, we would have to follow the imposed policies of the superpowers, meaning we would have to give up the nation's political and economic independence. To put it more clearly, we would have to be a nation supported by the superpowers to achieve this, and the Iranian nation has given tens of thousands of martyrs to get out of that captivity and humiliation.

There is therefore one way to get out of this impasse, and that is by strengthening the defense foundation and with a firm resolution to fight the enemy to achieve the rights of the government and the nation.

Mr. Mohtashemi was asked, why is America trying to establish relations with Iran, and is it in the interest of the government and the nation to have relations with the



Great Satan? He said: The reason for this eagerness is simply to break the will of the revolution and the nation of Iran in the world.

America has suggested to all the nations of the world that no country or nation can stand independently on its own feet without the international powers. However, we saw that the Islamic revolution of Iran took this Satanic logic away from America. If America can fool the Islamic Republic of Iran with increasing pressure, political maneuvers, and a propaganda barrage and establish relations with Iran, it will mean the complete defeat of the logic of the revolution in the nation and among nations.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi then discussed the future of the Islamic uprising of Palestine. He said: If the deviated measures of the leaders of the Arab nations and the compromising leaders of the PLO do not take effect within the occupied territories, this movement will continue and ultimately Palestine will be able to break the back of the occupying regime and achieve its rights.

He was asked, is armed struggle with the occupiers of Jerusalem the only way to be effective? He said: Armed struggle from without and under special conditions from within the occupied territories can be the only way to achieve the demands of the nation of Palestine. I do not believe that the people of Palestine are the only ones responsible for the fate of Palestine.

Palestine is an Islamic land, and all the Islamic nations and the Muslim nations are responsible for it.

Continuing, he discussed the role of the Islamic nation of Iran and the nations of the region in bringing Palestinian uprising to fruition. He said: I do not think the nations of the region have done anything positive. Not just the Arab nations, but all the Islamic nations are hibernating. The Islamic Republic of Iran has taken many political and financial measures for the revolution of Palestine and its uprising.

The Martyr Foundation helps the families of martyrs. Politically, the Islamic Republic of Iran has defended and continues to defend the rights of the nation of Palestine, and militarily the revolutionary guards have been defending the nation of Palestine since 1982.

Continuing the interview, Mr. Mohtashemi discussed the issues of Lebanon with regard to the recent positions taken by Michel 'Awn. He said: In the last five to six months America and the West have taken a serious decision to resolve the Lebanon crisis, and in this regard various measures have been taken by America and the regimes affiliated with it in the region. An example is the meeting of the Lebanese parliament in al-Taif.

He added: Therefore, to control the Islamic movements and defeat the Hezbollah forces and the Islamic resistance, there was no way but to stabilize the political Maronite Christian regime which is at the disposal of the policies of the West, America and Israel, and it can be

stabilized when all the Arab and Islamic nations accept it, and all the delegates to the United Nations and the Security Council validate it. That is, they are to destroy the rights of Muslims and stabilize the Maronite government of Lebanon. They did this in al-Taif, and they were sure that this plot would bring results.

That is, in Lebanon the president will be elected in Parliament and he will control the nation's affairs.

Through regional, inter-Arab, and international pressure, the armed groups of Lebanon will be disarmed. Of course the Western world and America want to disarm the parties and armed organizations in Lebanon, meaning the parties aligned with East or West, because these parties have been armed for more than 30 years.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi also said: America knows very well that Michel 'Awn has greater executive power than anyone else to implement the powers of the West and America and to defeat the Islamic and even nationalist powers. However, when they saw that Michel 'Awn was no longer able to rule as a legally authorized individual, they were content to turn this task over to a weaker person such as Ilyas al-Harawi.

Naturally, if the Islamic Hezbollah forces, the Islamic Resistance, the Islamic Tawhid Movement, the association of scholars, and other groups active in Lebanon deal with America's policies in Lebanon with a plan as in the past, this time also America's plots will be foiled.

### **Heavy Industries' Minister Announces Investment Means**

90010190B Tehran ETTELA'AT  
in Persian 17 Feb 90 p 4

[Text] Tehran—Central News Unit:

The Ministry of Heavy Industries, with the publication of the statistics relating to agreements in principle for the nations heavy industries, announced that it is ready to help those who are interested in investing in heavy industries.

Mr. Nezhad-Hoseynian, the minister of heavy industries, in an exclusive interview with a central news unit reporter said "Within the framework of the five-year plan, investors can obtain the foreign exchange needed for their projects by taking advantage of foreign exchange credits allocated by the government or foreign financial facilities offered either through barter or credit."

He stressed, "Mutual agreements with foreign companies and the utilization of the two methods mentioned will allow a speedier implementation of industrial projects."

Continuing with the interview, the minister of heavy industries said, "In this connection, various foreign companies have been approached in regard to foreign investment and agreements have been signed."

He added, "In regard to the permits for agreements in principle issued by the Ministry of Heavy Industries from 1362 [21 March 1983-20 March 1984] until the present, a total of 6,080 agreements in principal with an investment value of nearly 40 billion tomans were issued. Out of these, 1,960 became invalid owing to lack of ability to execute the plans; 2,600 of these, with a total investment value of approximately 12 billion toman, have been completed; and 1,520 of them, with a total investment volume of almost 20 billion tomans, are in various stages of execution."

Mr. Nezhad-Hoseynian added, "In the five-year plan, a total of 6770 million dollars have been allocated through three different methods for fulfilling the foreign exchange needs of the heavy industries sector."

"The first method is the allocation of needed foreign exchange from the government foreign exchange income. Over the length of the plan, 1900 million dollars in credit has been anticipated for this approach. A portion of the amount will be allocated annually based on the foreign exchange earnings of the government."

"The second method, for which 3000 million dollars worth of credit has been forecast, is barter. Under this system, a foreign company which holds the license or any foreign company that can supply the needed machinery and equipment agrees to sell its articles in exchange for products generated under the plan or other products manufactured by heavy industry. The Central Bank will furnish the needed guarantees to the foreign supplier."

"The third approach is that of credit. The foreign company supplying machinery and other equipment agrees to receive payment in installments spread over a period of five years after implementation of the plan. This method has been adopted in plans to be approved by the Islamic Consultative Majles. A ceiling of 1870 million dollars has been set for heavy industry."

The minister of heavy industries said, "Therefore, I would like to tell all those who have new projects in heavy industry or those who would like to invest in this sector, whether private or public, and banks which are ready to implement their projects through the adoption of one of the three methods mentioned earlier that the Ministry of Heavy Industries is willing to offer them every cooperation in implementing their projects. Of course, projects utilizing barter or credit can be implemented faster and there are no special restrictions except those already mentioned. If those whose projects are half complete can reach an agreement with their foreign supplier to accept either of the two methods of payment, they will be able to put their plans into operation in a shorter period of time."

Mr. Nezhad-Hoseynian continued, "The Ministry of Heavy Industries will make plans available to those individuals who are willing to take the initiative in investing in various areas."

He added, "Provincial banks can take the initiative in establishing limited public companies and raise capital in rials for these productive projects by selling a portion of the shares of these companies to the people. The banks can also obtain their foreign exchange requirements through the foreign exchange set aside by the government, by utilizing foreign financial facilities, through barter, or through foreign exchange credits."

#### **New Import, Export Regulations Presented to Government**

90.150016A *Tehran ABRAR in Persian*  
17 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with 'Abdol Hoseyn Vahaji, Minister of Commerce, by the press on 15 March 1990; place not specified]

[Text] News Service

In 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990], more than \$1.8 billion in funds have been freed for the import of goods without transfer of foreign currency, and about \$800 million worth of goods have been imported.

'Abdol Hoseyn Vahaji, the minister of commerce, made this announcement in a press conference on Thursday. Explaining this ministry's point of view concerning major economic problems, including the need to chose a trade model, he said: Other countries look to us in choosing their models, considering the expanded influence of the Islamic revolution. Hence, we must have a presentable model.

According to ABRAR's correspondent, the minister of commerce added:

We must pay attention to the evident economic, commercial, and banking system triangle along with the invisible sector of the plan and budget and give special priority to them. By coordinating between these, we shall achieve a model that will be a global model, if we go beyond the national level.

According to Vahaji, the economic reconstruction will not be merely national; it will expand beyond the Islamic Republic.

He also explained the duties of the Ministry of Commerce in the economy of the country as well as regional and global issues and pointed out: Only through constant overall examination of the national, regional, and global economic issues can we make the necessary projections and, along with ideological and political decisions, form the foundation for economic development.

The minister of commerce considered the proper relationship between consumption, investment and foreign trade, an effort towards economic development and coordination in political and economic relations on a global scale, as factors that can reduce our vulnerability in the international economy.

In another part of his speech, Vahaji emphasized the specialized duties of every ministry, including the Ministry of Commerce, and concluded: Every ministry may have certain activities that are related to trade, and if it wants to resolve its problems alone, that would mean that every ministry would have to create a small ministry of commerce within itself, and this is the point at which conflicts arise with regard to our duties.

He emphasized: The failure of the organizations to follow the rules and regulations will create problems. We must pursue the economic policies within a centralized system.

The minister of commerce then referred to the uses of the trade tools to protect production. And in regard to the system of rationing essential goods, he said: Because of the emergency conditions we have been and are still under, certainly the system of rationing essential goods must be maintained.

According to Vahaji, on the basis of the five-year plan, the ministers of economy are responsible for preparing and writing up the consumer model.

He also pointed out the importance of production and the emphasis placed on it under the present circumstances by high-ranking officials. He said: Replacing imports with production in the agricultural sector, increasing investment goods proportionate to the total imports, and increasing non-oil products in proportion to the total exports can be important factors in economic growth.

He continued: The export and import regulations, with new perspectives and with the goal of eliminating unnecessary stages, have been presented to the government.

According to the minister of commerce, at the present time, the foreign currency and rial problems and obstacles regarding the import of raw materials have been removed for producers, and production must show the results of its activities.

He expressed hope that in the first three months of 1369 [21 March-21 June 1990], we will witness production increases, movement towards modification of prices and relative calm among consumers.

Explaining the statistics on the release of foreign currency funds for production, Vahaji said: In the past four months, credit has been opened for \$520 million in competitive foreign currency. Also, from 1 Azar 1367 [22 November 1988] to date, \$2.1 billion have been recorded for the import of goods without transfer of foreign currency, of which \$1.8 billion was for 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990].

He said: By the time the new government had begun, \$350 million worth of goods had been imported, and within the past six months, \$430 million worth of goods have been imported.

#### **Headquarters for Economic Mobilization and the Import of Potatoes**

According to ABRAR's correspondent, as this interview continued, the minister of commerce announced the annexation of the headquarters for economic mobilization and its executive duties to the Ministry of Commerce, with the approval of the Cabinet. Also, concerning the issuance of permits for the import of potatoes from three points—Western Azarbaijan, Sistan va Baluchestan, and Bushehr—he said: With the import of potatoes from these three points and the arrival of the harvest season throughout the country, in the coming days, we shall witness a reduction in the price of this product.

#### **Mashhad Air Base Used To Overhaul C-130 Aircraft**

90010190E Tehran ETTELAT  
in Persian 17 Feb 90 p 4

[Text] Mashhad—The full servicing of C-130 aircraft, one of the major projects of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Air Force, was inaugurated at Mashhad's Emam Reza air base, in the presence of Brigadier General Sattari, Commander of the Air Force.

According to the central news unit, with the inauguration of this service, the overhaul work on a C-130 aircraft of the air force, which had been badly damaged during the imposed war and on which basic repairs had already been done by the expert personnel of the Mehrabad C-130 maintenance battalion, began at Mashhad's Emam Reza air base.

It should be mentioned here that all domestic and foreign servicing companies will overhaul a plane only if it is in working condition. The overhaul of the C-130 was begun when the plane was so badly damaged that it was cleared for only one flight—to the Mashhad Emam Reza air base. The personnel of the technical battalion of the base used their experience and expertise and with self sacrifice and dedication completed in two months all the preliminary work for servicing the aircraft.

According to the central news unit report, at the opening ceremonies the commander of the overhaul battalion of the Mashhad air base announced that with added potential the base would be able to overhaul three C-130 aircraft simultaneously.

During the course of the opening ceremonies, Brigadier General Sattari, Commander of Islamic Republic of Iran Air Force, expressed his appreciation and thanks for the efforts put forth by the air force personnel to achieve self-sufficiency and stressed the need for even greater efforts in the work of overhaul. He noted that the high motivation of the personnel of the Emam Reza base would make the C-130 overhaul center one of the best ever.

In an interview with the central news unit's reporter, Brigadier General Sattari referred to the work of renovation started in the air force and said, "At present overhaul services are available for the air force's fighter,

transport, and heavy transport aircraft and even for jumbo jets, and parts and equipment for them exist. Work is also proceeding at a fast pace regarding rocket and missile equipment and great progress has been made so far, all of which will greatly help the military power of the air force in countering any possible enemy threats." In regard to future air force projects, Brigadier General Sattari said, "As envisaged in the five-year plan, air force projects will include manpower training; the establishment of an air academy; complete renovation of air force installations; the establishment of new air bases in the country; repair, reconstruction, and technical changes in air force equipment all aimed at strengthening air power in order to counter any possible threat to the Islamic Republic of Iran."

### **Modern Textile Factory Inaugurated in Borujerd**

90010190C Tehran ETTELA'AT  
in Persian 17 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Economic Service—Iran's most modern textile factory was inaugurated in Borujerd in the presence of the minister of industries.

In the first phase, the factory, which consists of spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing sections, will be capable of producing 17 million square meters of various kinds of fabric annually.

Engineer Karki, the managing director of the Borujerd textile factory, in an exclusive interview with our correspondent, said that the preliminary spinning and weaving machines were among the most modern and well equipped in the world and the only ones of their kind in the country.

He added, "When later projects are put into effect, and some of the work has already been completed, the productive capacity of the factory will exceed 50 million square meters of fabric."

Karki said, "A portion of the budget for the later projects has been spent and needed installations have been set up in step with the first phase. If foreign exchange needed for the purchase of machinery and equipment should be available, plans for the extension of the factory should be completed in two or three years and we should then have the capacity of producing in excess of 50 million square meters of fabric of a desirable quality which could compete in world markets."

The managing director of the Borujerd textile factories [sic] said, "The factory grounds measure 500,000 square meters and the factories are housed in a 70,000 square meter building. The expenditure on it has been 13.4

billion rials. Approximately 10 percent of the shares are held by 900 small shareholders and the rest by the Bank of Industry and Mines."

He estimated the cost of the project at 27 million dollars and said, "All construction work such as buildings, industrial installations, electricity, water, and steam needed for the operation of the dyeing, finishing, and printing sections have been completed. Only the machines have to be installed. 13.5 million dollars in foreign exchange is needed and as long as this amount is not allocated, the installations mentioned above cannot start production and we are forced to send raw materials to the market."

In regard to the method of carrying out the projects he said, "The operational activities pertaining to the factory were started in 1363 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985] when the imposed war was at its height. All industrial consultation concerning the project was performed by the company experts and the work of planning, construction, and installation was all done by Iranian advisors. Executive and security duties, all round planning and preparation was done by the company."

He said, "In spite of the shortages, wartime conditions, and economic restrictions, all the technical requirements laid down by the Plan and Budget Organization were complied with so much so that the factory buildings are strong enough to withstand a 7.5 earthquake on the Richter scale."

In regard to the employment capacity at the Borujerd textile factories, he said, "At present, more than 300 experts, employees, and technicians are working in the different sections, and in the future the number of employees is expected to increase to 1500." He added, "The personnel needed for the different sections are trained by factory experts with the cooperation of training centers."

Mr. Karki referred to the planting of 40,000 trees on the factory grounds as a noteworthy achievement and said, "Even though the factory's ventilation system is among the most modern of its kind, the planting of the trees will prove effective in the ventilation and cooling of the factories."

In conclusion, he noted that most of the technical work was done by the factory personnel and said, "Since Borujerd is not an industrial city, we have been forced to do most of our own technical work such as metal fabrication, doors and windows, mosaic etc. Also, in the interests of saving money, factory experts constructed and put into operation two machines for the control and measurement of fabric."

The minister of industries and the accompanying delegates arrived in Borujerd about noon today and were welcomed by local officials. On his way to Borujerd, the minister stopped at Khoramabad and visited the hide and leather factory there.



### Fiberglass-Metal Boats Built for First Time in Country

90010190D Tehran ETTELA'AT  
in Persian 17 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Mr. Mirzadeh, deputy president for executive affairs, yesterday morning visited the first fiberglass and metal boat factory of the Kish Development Organization.

According to the central news unit, the boats will be manufactured for the first time in Iran and will be used for fishing and passenger services. The boats will play an important part in promoting fishing and travel between the islands and ports of southern Iran and the northern waters. The boats built in the factories will be suitable for catching various kinds of fish, including bottom feeding and surface feeding fish and fishes of the Kilka variety. The boats will have a fish storage capacity of three to 30 tons and, based on the kind of fishing, can be equipped for short trips carrying 20 passengers.

During his visit to the factory, Mr. Mirzadeh praised the efforts of the engineers, workers, and those involved in the work of the Kish Development Organization and emphasized the need for continued production. He said that in view of the value of the manufacture of these boats to the country and the important part they would play in increasing the fish population and promoting ocean travel, it was necessary to draw up comprehensive plans for a large scale production of the boats in Kish island which would add lustre to the economic life of the islands of the Persian Gulf.

### Coupons Issued for Vegetable Oil, Eggs

90010190F Tehran RESALAT in Persian 17 Jan 90 p 4

[Text] Tehran—Islamic Republic News Agency: Urban coupons number 142 and Rural and Tribal coupons number 42 of the eighth series of coupons for essential articles have been issued to provide our dear countrymen with 450 grams of vegetable oil for each individual's normal needs.

The public relations office of the economic mobilization corps made the announcement and added that urban coupons number 142 will be initially valid until 26/2/69 [16 May 1990]. Selling agents have until 10/3/69 [31 May 1990] to submit the received coupons in Tehran to the branches of Saderat Bank and in the townships to the branches of provincial banks.

The announcement also stated that rural and tribal coupons number 42 will be initially valid until 26/4/69 [17 July 1990] and selling agents will have until 10/5/69 [1 August 1990] to submit their coupons to branches of the provincial bank.

### New Coupons Announced for Eggs

Tehran—Islamic Republic News Agency: Urban Coupon number 437, of the eighth series 48 section

coupons for essential protein material for Tehran province have been issued and each resident will receive 700 grams of eggs. The coupons are valid starting 26/10/68 [16 January 1990].

The public relations office of the economic mobilization corps said further in its announcement that the coupons will be valid until 26/12/68 [17 March 1990] and selling agents have until 7/1/69 [27 March 1990] to submit the coupons received to branches of Saderat Bank and receive receipts for them.

### Friday Prayer Observed in Moscow Mosque

90010190A Tehran ETTELA'AT  
in Persian 17 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Tehran—Islamic Republic News Agency—Friday prayers were offered in Moscow mosque yesterday in the presence of thousands of Muslim Soviet citizens.

In his sermon, 'Aynuddin, the Friday prayers leader of Moscow, while exhorting the Muslims to observe piety and confirm Islamic values, reiterated His Holiness Imam Khomeyni's (May God Have Mercy On Him) pronouncement in regard to Salman Rushdie and strongly condemned the publication of the book "Satanic Verses" as a conspiracy by the enemies of Islam.

## PAKISTAN

### People's Program Reported 'Sailing Smoothly' in Sindh

46000095B Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 pp 35-36

[Text] The People's Programme for Development [PPD], which is facing tough resistance in the Punjab and Balochistan from Chief Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Akbar Bugti, is having comparatively smooth sailing in Sindh, mainly because the ruling party in the province is the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] itself.

However, one can discover a sort of dissatisfaction, an undertone of complaint, among provincial functionaries—both political and administrative—over the exclusion of the province from the planning and execution of the Programme.

The Centre has set up separate and independent committees from the provincial to the taluka level. These committees are manned by the Centre's nominees who are reported to have been selected in consultation with members of the National and Provincial assemblies. Projects are being initiated by the people of the area, and the criteria for approval is the number of people to be benefited and the urgency of their needs. Each of the district committees is being assisted by a civil engineer and a planning officer. Funds are released directly to the executing agencies.

After appraisal and approval of a project, its technical details are published and tenders are invited for the completion of the work. Since the initiators and executing supervisors are the people whose felt need gives birth to the project, the chances of corruption are minimised and satisfactory execution is ensured, to a great extent.

What is perhaps most satisfying about the Programme in Sindh is the private donations of land by the beneficiaries for the setting up of schools, basic health units and the laying of roads. The Programme has not spent a penny on the purchase of land, it is claimed. At many places, local people have made financial contributions—the highest one being that of Rs. 1 million—either for extension of a project or for the provision of additional facilities or for the use of improved materials.

Allocation for the Programme in Sindh is reported to be over Rs. 800 million for the two years 1988-89 and 1989-90. About Rs. 360 million have already been spent or committed. The highest priority has been given to primary education, specially for the construction of class-rooms and provision of furniture where this is not available to the students who sit on the ground in the open without any shelter, in summer and winter. Provision of water to the villages is undertaken by digging open wells.

The sector-wise commitment of funds so far is as follows:

- Education—Rs. 150 million.
- Roads, bridges, culverts, etc.—120 million.
- Water supply and drainage—Rs. 50 million.
- Health (basic health units)—Rs. 20 million.
- Non-conventional schemes—Rs. 20 million.

The concept of the PPD is undergoing a change. Collaboration with non-governmental organisations will be welcomed. Institutions for skill development will receive greater attention in future planning. In Lyari, with Rs. 6 million a nursing training institute is being constructed where Baloch girls have sought admission for the first time. Karachi has also been provided with 75 buses to ease the city's transport problem.

In the interior, small farmers have been given urea bags for the rabi crop. In Larkana district, the construction of a maternity home is under consideration.

### Government Reviews Relations With IMF

46000096B Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 24 Feb 90 p 6

[Article by Jawaid Bokhari in the "Commerce Diary" column: "Pak-IMF Relations Being Reviewed"]

[Text] Karachi, Feb 23: Pakistan is reviewing its relationship with the International Monetary Fund.

Over the years, Islamabad and IMF have concluded several agreements for structural reforms. Even the five-year plans have been adjusted to IMF and World Bank

policies and programmes. These lending agencies have not only been closely associated with the formulation but also execution of policies. The IMF conditionality constitute one of the key elements in economic management of the borrowing states.

Pakistan's economy continues to suffer from basic structural weaknesses and the fiscal crisis getting deeper and deeper.

Officials in the IMF have also started questioning the wisdom of their own policies. The rethinking started when the IMF's so-called prescriptions for economic ailments started not only becoming counter-productive but also led to riots in many of the credit recipient countries. The conclusion of three year IMF programme also coincided with the 1983 political disturbances in Pakistan.

The IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank Coordinate their lending policies in three or four key areas: They pressurise aid recipients to liberalise imports and reduce tariff to facilitate imports from industrialised states, they manage currently devaluations to ensure net transfer of resources abroad. Their main purpose is to regard the industrial growth of Third World states and retain them as markets for industrialised countries.

The President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Karachi, Khawaja Qutubuddin told a visiting World Bank delegation that liberal imports with lower tariffs had led to patronisation of foreign goods at the cost of domestic products and industry. There is also been some dumping of goods through underinvoicing by foreign suppliers that has meant huge revenue losses to the government. [sentence as published]

Similarly, depreciation of the rupee vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar and other hard currencies has raised the cost of production based on imported raw materials. Pakistani goods have therefore been made incompetent in the international market. The massive creeping devaluation of the rupee over the past seven years has not helped boost exports nor has the trade gap been bridged nor the balance of payments has improved.

A new problem has arisen in funding of industrial projects by the World Bank. Whereas Islamabad advised the banks and financial institutions to finance projects sponsored by new entrepreneurs on debt equity ratio of 70:30 the World Bank insists that they should be funded on 60:40 basis when its funds are utilised. The IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] policy is heavily loaded in favour of established industrial houses. If the recovery position in the banks and the DFI [Development Financing Institutions?]s is not satisfactory, primarily because of the lack of responsibility of the old borrowers, why should the new entrepreneurs be penawised. [sentence as published]

Similarly, the World Bank insists that bridge-financing should not be treated as part of the equity but should be treated as loan. Hence the sponsors are required to raise

20 percent as equity and 20 percent bridge financing has to come from the capital market. The government has come out with the decision that new entrepreneurs will be entitled to bridge financing from the credit line obtained by banks and DFIs from the State Bank. But the old established industrial houses will get bridge financing after their unit goes into production.

The outcome of varying policy perceptions has been that some sanctioned projects, cannot be funded because they cannot meet the IBRD conditionalities. Industrialisation is slowing down because of new policies of the IBRD that have been enforced after the induction of the democratic government.

Conscious of the strong influence on the country's monetary policy and in self-praise, the IMF has come out with the report that describes the monetary policy as "tighter than the programme had envisaged."

No doubt credit utilisation by the government for budget financing for 1988-89 was lower than targeted, which the IMF report admits, reflected a larger than initially projected records to net domestic non-banking borrowing. In fact that non-bank borrowing is bank borrowing. Bulk of the bonds/certificates either floated by State Bank, WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], or other public corporations and financial institutions are not sold in the market but are purchased by the nationalised commercial banks [NCBs]. NCBs are the main provider of funds.

Debt servicing claims the highest allocation in the national budget. To reduce expenditure on this count, no policy of national self-reliance has been adopted. On the other hand the Khas Deposit scheme has been withdrawn denying the retired government officials, widows or the middle classes of a better return on their investments and savings, substantially eroded by inflation. This is how the government is trying to reduce its debt liabilities with promptings from the IMF. And the State Bank of Pakistan, acting as an Economic Advisor to Islamabad, is encouraging it to follow the fund's policies.

On the one hand, the State Bank laments the fact that the domestic rate of savings is low, without whose increase, foreign dependence cannot be reduced. On the other hand, it is pressing the government to reduce the rate of return on the national savings schemes such a policy can only depress the rate of savings in an inflationary situation and increase our foreign dependence.

The last budget of the Junejo Government and that of the interim government helped destabilise both the regimes. The IMF policies for structural reforms do not correspond to the needs of economic development of the Third World states.

IMF officials are aware of the difficulties that IMF creates for the Third World states. They are working on a new strategy: How to improve the acceptability of their policies and programme? Firstly, the borrowing state should own IMF policies as its own. Secondly, unpopular

proposals for tax increases and raise in utility charges should be put to national debate before adoption by the government. The proposal for the general sales tax is now under public discussion. It is being strongly opposed by the representatives of trade and industry. Nothing will help except the policies aimed at speedy industrialisation of the country on the basis of national self-reliance.

### Strength of Nawaz Sharif's Position Questioned

46000096A Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 24 Feb 90 p 8

[Text] Lahore, Feb 23: The former Punjab Governor and PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar has claimed that Nawaz Sharif has lost his position as Punjab Chief Minister after he (Khar) exposed his politics in Punjab adding that now he can be seen as Chief Secretary or an Administrator of the Punjab after losing his political ground.

Speaking at a luncheon given by him in honour of PPP MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly]s by Mr Khar said that he had compelled the Punjab Chief Minister to come on the pitch of the PPP in NA [National Assembly]-99 by-election and for this reason, Nawaz lost the election.

He said that the old spirit of the PPP had been restored to a great extent but there was a need to revive the spirit of 1970 into the Party ranks and file so that it could defeat the powers of tyranny and oppression at all levels. He claimed that the bureaucracy and police had also become fed up from the Punjab Chief Minister and they had expressed happiness over the defeat of IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] candidate in NA-99 Lahore.

He said that his claim had come true that political situation in Punjab would change after the defeat of Nawaz Sharif in NA-99 by-election. He felt that for the first time in PPP the Ministers, MPAs and Party workers demonstrated the spirit of team work in NA-99 by-election. He said if party workers had not demonstrated great unity in the by-poll the Punjab Government would have succeeded in carrying out rigging at every polling station.

He said when he had joined the party the morale of Party workers was very low which had been raised after his re-entry.

Khar said that Nawaz Sharif had misled the Punjab and undermined the spirit of national reconciliation.

He disclosed that he would soon contact the IJI Ministers and MPAs to apprise them of the real motives of the Punjab Chief Minister [CM].

He said that in next few days the Punjab CM was planning to start victimisation of his political opponents. He asked the MPAs to face the said move valiantly in the field and defeat him on this front as well.

He quoted himself and three defected IJI MNAs who did not care for his victimisation move.

He declared that national and provincial conventions of the PPP would be called soon to bring to an end the gap between the workers and Ministers. He said that he was not only aimed at seizing power in Punjab but also serve the people of the province after the change of Government in Punjab.

### Shahi Defends Afghan Policy

46000095C Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 pp 31-32

[Article by Husain Naqi: "Shahi and the Afghan Issue"]

[Text] General Zia's main legacy, the Afghanistan issue, was the topic of a 'national debate' organised by a local Urdu daily last week on the occasion of the first anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The selection of Mr. Agha Shahi, former Foreign Minister who was Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the time the Soviet forces entered Afghanistan, as the chief speaker on the occasion provided an opportunity to a select gathering to hear the views of the man who initially formulated Pakistan's response to the Soviet forces' entry into the neighbouring country.

Mr. Shahi had played a key role in making an international issue out of it—a process that once again pushed Pakistan (after its withdrawal from various military pacts) into becoming a strategic ally of the United States and the West and ending up as a client State of the U.S. under the stranglehold of corrupt and over-ambitious generals. Later Mr. Shahi also did not fit into the generals' scheme of things.

### ISI-Dominated

It transpired from what he said that Pakistan's foreign affairs were dovetailed into Inter-Services Intelligence [ISI]-dominated policies not only about Afghanistan but Soviet Central Asia as well. Mr. Shahi was discreet enough not to mention the further linkage with the internationally notorious intelligence agency in this disastrous scheme. His insistence upon the unity of all the Mujahideen groups in Pakistan and Iran for any positive results in Afghanistan requires the rebels to be persuaded by the ISI and the Jamaat-i-Islami. Mr. Shahi pointed out that it was these two who were in direct contact with the Pakistan-based Afghan and commanded influence over them. Besides this duo at home, Iran and Saudi Arabia were two Islamic countries which could play a key role in bringing all the Mujahideen groups together. Thus, Mr. Shahi assigned a very marginal direct role to the elected Government of the people of Pakistan, while burdening it with the task of bringing about a rapprochement between the Saudis and the Iranians.

Mr. Shahi absolved himself completely of sharing any of the generals' and the ISI's ambitions vis-a-vis Soviet Central Asia. "I advised strongly against it", Mr. Shahi stated, because, like any other diplomat, he considered that a country's foreign policy objective should not be beyond reach. In this regard, he also deliberated on Pakistan's own vulnerability to insurgency encouraged and inspired from outside—by the Soviet Union, in this instance.

### Defends Afghan Policy

During his opening observations, Mr. Shahi defended the Pakistan Government's decision to take a stand against the Soviet armed forces entry into Afghanistan and referred to the support Pakistan received at the United Nations, NAM [Non-Aligned Movement] and OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference]. He was critical of Pakistan becoming part of U.S. strategic concerns but avoided mentioning Pakistan being turned into a conduit for the supply of U.S. and other countries' arms for the Afghan rebels even while he was holding charge at the Foreign Office.

Mr. Shahi claimed that he had told the Americans that "we do not want to be part of your strategic concerns". He also stated that containment of the Soviet Union was beyond Pakistan's intelligence agencies. Pakistan should have confined itself to its initial stand that was supported by the Non-Aligned Movement. As events unfolded, he noted that the U.S. deliberately sabotaged the possibility of an accord at the Geneva talks in 1983—when the Soviet Union charged that Pakistan was "pulled by its sleeve" when Moscow was ready to offer a time-frame for the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan.

About the non-inclusion of the formation of a neutral government or a government of all factions to the Afghan strife, Mr. Shahi pointed out that this was opposed by General Zia's regime and was also unacceptable to the Mujahideen. The Soviet Union had been proposing it till 1987 while Pakistan was opposed to it.

### Wrong Predictions

After the signing of the Geneva Accord and the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces by last February "all the predictions and expectations about the downfall of Dr. Najib have proved wrong," Mr. Shahi conceded. But all the same, he argued: "There is this negative development because there is no agreement amongst the Mujahideen. The future is being lost by default due to one big factor: the disunity of the Mujahideen."

Mr. Shahi's view was that if the Pakistan and Iran-based rebels and other Afghans who lived elsewhere came to an agreement and a new Afghan 'shoora' was brought about with both elected members and elders chosen in the traditional Afghan way, then the Soviet Union could be persuaded to abandon Dr. Najib. However, he insisted that moves be made in that direction now. The U.S. would not wait for long—not more than a few months—



to agree to Soviet suggestions about negative symmetry, i.e., stopping the supply of sophisticated arms by the Soviet Union to the Afghan Government and of U.S. weapons to the rebels. An unpredictable future for Afghanistan would pose a problem for Pakistan, Mr. Shahi said. To a query, he stated that even partition of Afghanistan would be harmful for Pakistan.

Mr. Shahi was at loggerheads with some self-righteous supporters of the continuance of the Afghan 'jihad' who even blamed the elected Government's Afghan policy. These included such luminaries as the late General Akhtar Abdur Rahman's son, Mr. Humayun Akhtar, and the Jamaat-i-Islami's Liaquat Baloch (some of them even claiming to have lately 'witnessed' the Mujahideen's "successes"). They considered the continuing rebel differences as being of no serious consequence. Mr. Shahi reminded them that while the Soviet forces were in Afghanistan, the rebels were united at least on one issue: fighting against them. Now they were fighting amongst themselves and there was no unity in the AIG (Afghan Interim Government), even amongst groups which were based in Pakistan. Mr. Shahi said that the U.S. would also not like to see a fundamentalist government in Afghanistan.

He obviously gave more weight to U.S.-Soviet negative symmetry and to a convergence of their positions than to the Kabul-Delhi axis, which he said was obvious. All factors could not be favourable to Pakistan, he observed.

### One-Third Share

In reply to another question, he said that even General Zia had once talked about a one-third share of power for the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan]. He said that if an agreed list of persons for an Afghan interim government to replace the present Afghan Government was prepared by the Mujahideen in Iran and Pakistan which included other leading Afghans and was handed over to the UN Secretary-General, it would be a good augury. The list need not necessarily include the PDPA, was Mr. Shahi's view. "Even today it is not too late", he said, and added that this should not be overly delayed because it would cause further "negative developments" in the future.

Everyone who has been following Afghan events will agree that there appears no possibility of the rebel factions agreeing on policy before the term of the so-called Afghan Interim Government installed in Pakistan expires later this month. Within Pakistan, the popular consensus was never taken into account except for the signing of the Geneva Accord by either the Zia regime or even now. It is evident that the writ of Pakistan's elected Government does not fully encompass the Afghanistan issue: Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto seems to be obliged to leave the issue to the warring Mujahideen factions and some others. It is they who decide what Pakistan should be doing. There seems, however, some effort to use the Iranian Government's good offices and, at home, of the ANP [Awami National Party] and some

of the Mujahideen moderates. Obviously, the ISI must be trying its best to exercise its leverage under its new chief, but nothing has come to light about the outcome of its efforts. As for the U.S., it has started by stopping supplies of food to the rebel groups based in Pakistan under the pretext that part of the wheat was being sold to Afghan Government forces. That might be a prelude to negative symmetry. While this will not affect the Mujahideen leaders-turned-tycoons, the millions of refugees who depend on aid will be faced with very serious problems.

Meanwhile, it will be appropriate to ask Mr. Agha Shahi to enlighten his co-citizens about the benefits that have accrued to us by getting involved in the Afghanistan mess. But at least he is not amongst those sycophants who credit the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and everywhere else to be "yaaran de ee kaam se" (the credit for all that is ours!).

### Defense Seminar Urges More Openness

46000095A Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 pp 25-26

[Article by Husain Naqi: "Kashmir Hartal and a Seminar on Defence"]

[Text] At the 'Defence and Media' seminar's first session, Federal Minister of State for Defence Col. (Retd.) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema said that the armed forces would always respond to the call of duty to defend the country. Pakistan was incomplete without Kashmir, he said, while pleading for caution in tackling the issue. About those who were whipping up a war hysteria, he reminded the audience, which included serving and retired servicemen, intellectuals and journalists, that those who had put 'Crush India' stickers on their cars in 1971 were the first to run for safety.

He supported the view that national issues including defence and foreign affairs should be open to public debate. 'The impediments in the way of openness emanate from our family lives', he pointed out. He also urged the media to stress the need for character building among the people, the armed forces and the journalistic community.

### Unnecessary Secrecy

Mr. Aziz Siddiqui, Editor, The Pakistan Times, regretted that unnecessary secrecy shrouded the facts about the 1965 and 1971 wars as well as the Ojhri holocaust. The people's capacity to self-government was curtailed if facts were hidden from them. Mr. Siddiqui observed that battles were better won by being preempted.

Maj. Gen. Mohammad Tariq, Chief Instructor, National Defence College, called for a national security policy for dealing with matters of both external and internal security. He said Pakistan had lacked this all along. He said the media should be used both as a weapon of defence and offence. He felt that the Cabinet Committee on

Defence fell short of national requirements and also pleaded for a crisis management apparatus and a think tank. The nation, he observed, sought security, not peace, at the cost of security.

#### Chance of the Century

He also pleaded for using what he said the 'chance of the century'. In 1962, he said, a similar chance had been missed. However, he added that it should be done after sufficient preparation as a situation that would be similar to the Palestinians intifada was yet to develop in Occupied Kashmir.

Later, the Minister of State for Defence advised Maj.-Gen. Tariq to be cautious. One might add that all this talk of setting up institutions for crisis management should be stopped for good. Ideas that lead to regimentation must not be encouraged. Adventurers have already done enough harm to national security. Nevertheless it is a welcome development that such ideas are now being openly debated and discussed and generals are getting more and more aware that they cannot thrust their views on the people arbitrarily.

#### Education Termed 'A Sorry Mess'

46000094A Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 pp 5-6

[Editorial]

[Text] Most things in our country are in a sorry mess but none in a sorrier one than education. Almost nothing is right with any sector of education—primary or middle, secondary or college-level. There has been so much callous neglect in this field that it almost seems calculated—calculated to keep the people ill-educated, ill-informed and thus docile. Levels of illiteracy are almost static, if they have not actually fallen since independence. Only a fraction of the country's child population has access to schools—not good schools, but just schools. The dropout rate at the primary level is said to be something like 50 percent, which means that even those lucky few who manage to get to school never go beyond a few classes and probably soon forget whatever they were taught. At college and university, year after year, academic sessions are disrupted by student violence and examinations postponed: it is not the head boy or the brightest who commands respect in his college but the one who can wield a gun and hijack a wagon or extract a 'tax' from the neighbourhood shopkeepers. The educational system has steadily deteriorated, and it is out of this system that today's teachers have come. Inevitably, therefore, they are poorly qualified and poorly motivated—and also by paying them poorly, we have taken care of whatever spark of dedication or seriousness there was. The general corruption of all moral values has further affected education, perhaps most of all, because more than many other disciplines or spheres of activity, education is based on a set of values.

There have been many educational commissions and committees. Many learned treatises have been written. Some of them have contained valuable suggestions. The focus of most attention, however, has been higher education. The academic fraternity at colleges and universities has many people in its ranks who are intelligent and articulate and who often express themselves forcefully. Primary education, on the other hand, has had few such advocates and it forms perhaps the most ignored of our educational sectors, although that is where the first brick is laid. In this issue, we take a look at some of the problems of primary education and also at its link with overall illiteracy.

One of the main problems is that there are not enough schools, particularly in the rural areas. The official statistics in this regard should be approached with a great deal of scepticism: many of the schools shown in figures exist only on paper. Teachers are not properly qualified and have to work on low salaries: more than that, they do not even have enough facilities to teach in a congenial atmosphere. Many schools do not even have chalk and blackboard; the children sit in the open or on tattered mats, in sharp contrast to the opulence of the Government schools reserved for the elite or private schools; there are no teaching aids. There has been a rash recently of refresher courses for primary teachers, but the reports are that the more troublesome teachers are sent to the courses and not necessarily the most meritorious. Moreover, there is no follow up to see whether the teachers are putting into practice what they learnt at the courses. Four or five years ago, primary school teaching kits were distributed on a wide scale, probably because some aid-giving agency had provided some funds for the purpose, but the kits were hardly used because the teachers were not sure that if they broke a component, it would be possible to replace it from school funds. There is supervisory staff—consisting of assistant education officers—but they have to look after a large number of schools, often far from one another, and they have been reduced to purely administrative functions. So is the case with the middle schools designated as central schools in each tehsil: they are supposed to guide and supervise, but have become centres for administrative control. There has been much policy-making with regard to primary education, but few of the schemes or proposals have been implemented. All told, as we said earlier, it's a sorry mess all round.

It is no longer a question of a Nai Roshni school here or an 'integrated' school there. The entire system needs to be reviewed, shaken up and drastically modified. There should be much greater attention to primary education and primary school teachers. New ideas should be tested out in selected schools and carefully evaluated. Television should be pressed into service to make up for the deficiency of schools and teachers. The women who teach small boys and girls in each mohalla about the rudiments of religion and language could be integrated into the over-all system. Everyone should give politticking a rest and think of where our children are headed.

### Need To Modernize Education Stressed

46000094B Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 p 16

[Text] Like all other activity, social and political, education too has an erratic and a haphazard growth in Pakistan, particularly in the field of primary education. What we have today is a high dropout rate and a falling rate of literacy. The question has not been addressed in its overall social, political and historical perspective.

Following the wayward movement of market forces we have on the one hand highly equipped elite schools for the moneyed—of course with varying level of sophistication corresponding to the paying capacity of the different sectors of the rich. And, on the other, we have one-room primary schools with two three teachers to manage a crowd of children; in many cases, children have to sit out in the open, exposed to the weather. Even a casual visit to a primary school makes you shudder at the lack of discipline or basic comfort. Not only this; there are glaring disparities of opportunities between rural-urban and male-female education.

Education and educational systems developed in the world with the advancement of societies and the consequent need to administer them. Educational practices had an organised link with the level of development of productive power in a society. But in colonial situations, the educational system of the coloniser was imposed on the colonised people, with complete disregard for local educational practices, and this made those educated in vernacular education redundant and illiterate. The standards of literacy changed, and throughout the colonial period in the subcontinent confusion shrouded educational practices. The political leadership, trained in Western educational institutions, did not have much time to spare for issues like education.

In Pakistan, not until 1959 did anyone think of an educational policy. The one prepared by the then military regime addressed the problem very superficially, and that too at the level of higher education. During the military rule of Yahya Khan, Nur Khan gave his educational policy which was shelved before it had come anywhere near implementation. Then came the first Bhutto's government's educational institutions. Because of the populist wave, then prevailing, the policy did make some headway. There was some expansion of the educational infrastructure. But the Sipahi-Danish component of the policy was a complete flop. The major weakness came in the implementations of the plan, when under the pressure of strong vested interests, certain categories of schools were exempted.

The Government of Gen. Ziaul Haq, besides attempts to Islamise education, with great fanfare launched a multi-million rupee campaign for literary and mass education in 1983, with the ambitious objective of bringing down illiteracy by 50 percent in seven years. Three years after the campaign began, the economic genius of the military junta, Dr. Mahboobul Haq, announced that the campaign's targets were over-ambitious. However, in five years and after costing Rs. 834 million, the scheme was still nowhere near

its targets. Later on it was found that the money had been used for bestowing political patronage. The ideological content with which all textbooks were loaded, particularly of social sciences, didn't deliver any results except to make some people rich. The Zia scheme was abolished by the Benazir Bhutto Government, but a proper substitute has yet to take shape.

The basic reason for the failure of all these drives is the inability of policy-planners to look at the problem of education in the social and historical context of Pakistan. All efforts made so far have been alien to the social milieu of the average student. None of the planners has ever bothered to go and find out how to make an education or literacy drive relevant to the social existence of our people. If we look at the primers, the contents and illustrations, we find that everything is alien; nor do they inform or enlighten one section of society about the other. As a result, the poor dropout, and the rich import books for their children from the West. The sonorous construction in a language which a majority of our rural children do not speak at home is absolutely meaningless. We have tried to educate them in a language other than their mother tongue. As a consequence, what we have today is that out of those 49 percent of children of school-going age who enrol themselves, there is a startling dropout rate of 50 percent at the primary level.

Beside being prepared in secretariats, our education policies have been based on an approach which says that education can be simply imparted, simply absorbed and simply utilised. Hence, even the contents of textbooks preach that to be educated or to be literate is nothing but to arrive at a predetermined destination. To be able to read is nothing but to be able to reproduce sounds. Our education does not teach a student how to get rid of unhygienic conditions of living. The culture of poverty is presented to the poor as a state of nature.

The people responsible for education under the present Government seem to be aware of the problems, and plans to have an integrated system of education from the primary to the university level are being formulated. The emphasis will, rightly, be on primary education. For this, the Government has succeeded in securing approximately \$543.32 million in foreign aid component, and some of the relevant projects are already in the field. But the need will remain to mobilise the people and develop their initiative by making education and literary drives relevant to their daily lives.

### Frustrations of Founders Analyzed

46000094C Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 p 16-17

[Article by Zafaryab Ahmed: "The Frustrated Founders"]

[Text] It is at the primary level where the foundations of proper education are laid—and it there that the educational system is found most wanting.

The teacher forms the lynchpin of the educational system and is expected to inspire students by personal example. It is mostly the teachers who are held responsible for the present state of affairs.

Iqbal Qaiser—a teacher who changes three buses a day to reach his school—had been listening to me with patience, and said: "A school teacher has no respect in society. He is treated worse than a dog."

### III-Paid

After a long pause he continued: "We are paid little. We have no facilities no future, no promotion, no incentives. It is a rut and once you are in it, you come out only when you are dead."

"Teaching is a noble profession, you say and I agree. I assure you that most of us try to be noble. Were we men of inordinate ambition, we wouldn't have elected to rot in this profession. I tell those who live off us that they are a lot happier than us".

He meant the Education Department. The stories of corruption in a department responsible for running our school system are no different from those in other administrative departments where no files move without greasing the palm of the person concerned. However, what one officer accepts in illegal gratification goes into the 'kitty' to be distributed at various levels of the departmental hierarchy. The Assistant Education Officer [AEO] and the Deputy Education Officer are the two categories in the six-tier hierarchical structure of the Directorate of Education with which a school teacher mostly has to deal.

The required qualification for a primary teacher is matriculation and a one-year course. This is just on paper. What determines selection for a post is either an extraordinary sifarish (reference) or a direct 'deal'. That means a couple of thousand rupees or more in payment for 'services rendered'.

After getting an appointment, a Government employee is expected to get his service book. This may sound an ordinary thing but not for a school teacher. He is blackmailed on this little count as well. There are teachers who, after 10 to 12 year of service, have still not been able to get their service books. One has to pay between Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 to get one. This money goes to the Assistant Education Officer but through the central headmaster and supervisor. Those who can't afford to pay remain without a service book. Those who refuse to pay bribes are normally trapped into some fake case of moral triptitude [as published] and transferred to some remote school.

Appointment is another scandal. While giving a posting, the Department does not care what is the distance between a teacher's residence and the school he is assigned to. Teachers have to travel miles to reach their place of work. To get a choice appointment without bribery is not possible.

### City Allowance

It is strange that a teacher within city limits is paid Rs. 250 more than those teaching in schools outside city limits. According to reliable sources, a vacancy in a school within the limits of a city corporation is sold at anything between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 15,000A.

There is a rush to get an appointment in the city because of the additional money attached with it and the possibility of other jobs or small businesses. Those who can't manage to get a city assignment look for additional sources of income in the villages, such as selling milk or setting up a small grocery. If they do not do this, it would be impossible for them to make a living on the paltry salary of Rs. 1,100 a month.

Rural school teachers get their salaries through the central headmaster, who takes his own cut of between Rs. 2 and Rs. 10 from each teacher. Generally, the community is not too bitter about this cut. One teacher said: "A central headmaster has to make at least 10 or 15 trips to the city to get our salaries and each trip must cost him 50 to 100 odd rupees and he is paid only Rs. 20 an additional charge allowance. Therefore, we do not mind this cut".

### Even for Increments

"The story does not end here, however. A teacher has to bribe even to secure legitimate and normal increments. If a teacher has as come to the Directorate of Education for some odd job, the poor fellow has to bribe the clerk concerned and also to endure his temper tantrums.

The Education Department undertakes annual inspections of schools to evaluate the performance of the teachers and students for an update on the conditions in, and functioning of, each school under its jurisdiction. This is a time-consuming job and requires a certain amount of interest on the part of the education officer in-charge of teaching and the well being of the schools. But this inspection is hardly ever done. The Assistant Education Officer performs his official duty in the central school of an area and the affiliated schools are asked to send their class register for his clearance. For this, class teachers pay Rs. 100 each.

The community has rationalised this cut as well: "If an AEO comes and spends a day or two to inspect my class he will cost me four times more than what I pay without getting into the trouble of scrutiny," said a school teacher.

A large number of the favourites of the Education Department do not teach at all. They simply come to schools, mark their attendance and do other jobs or are involved in some personal business. They come to collect their salaries, a percentage of which goes in the pockets of the officials of the Department.

There is no budget for stationary in primary schools. A teacher is expected to manage this on his own. In practice, he transfers this burden onto the students in the



shape of fines or increased tuition fees. For instance the tuition fee for the primary schools is Rs. 1.12 but most teachers charge Rs. 1.50 simply to buy chalk, mats, etc., and to keep the blackboard in shape. A primary school teacher is his own peon, his own sweeper. There is no provision of any facility or help for him.

### Other Work

When asked what was his approach towards teaching, a teacher said: "I wait for the school to be over so that I can go and attend to other business matters. I believe this is how the students also spend their day at school."

Primary teachers are a frustrated community because of absence of other sources of recreation. There has never been an attempt to alleviate their condition. Unhappy, ill-educated, ill-trained and ill-aid as they are, it would be futile to expect more from them than what they are already doing.

### Minister Interviewed on Basic Drawbacks

46000094 Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 pp 18-20

[Text] The Federal Education Ministry under the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government has the unique advantage of being headed by two educationists—Minister Ghulam Mustafa Shah and Minister of State Shahnaz Wazir Ali. VIEWPOINT asked Shahnaz Wazir Ali as to what she considered to be the basic drawback of the educational system:

[Ali] This is a wide-ranging question. However, I will try to focus on certain major areas. Let me start by making the theoretical point that under a democratic system, it is the responsibility of the State to provide at least free primary education. But the present Government, because of various reasons, is nowhere near this ideal. At the moment children between the ages of 5-9 number approximately 16 million. A little more than half of them go to schools, and out of this another 50 percent drop out by the time they reach class V. The drop-out rate is a major drawback of our education system. In such a situation, we can have no other priority except to ensure that we expand and improve facilities for primary education for our children. This brings us to the problems of linked logistics.

In the last one year, we have been able to alleviate these problems. For the first time a government in Pakistan has made the largest increase in the budgetary allocation for education. We have committed 68 percent more than what the previous government had allocated. You will be surprised to hear that despite all their rhetoric to eradicate illiteracy, the allocations of previous governments to education had remained between 1.7 and 2.1 percent of the GNP [gross national product]. Now, expenditure on education is 7 percent of the total Government expenditure. We think that it is important to tackle the problem at the base of our educational pyramid. For that we have provided more funds in the Federal budget and

85 percent of foreign funding coming in the field of education has gone into the primary sector. At the moment, there are two or three large projects in the field.

[VIEWPOINT] What are these projects?

[Ali] One is the World Bank project, the other is the USAID [United States Agency for International Development] project. In addition, we have an Asian Development Bank [ADB] project. These projects are out in the field and schools have been built and staff has been arranged. The ADB project is aimed at providing facilities for female education. Under the World Bank project, the Sind Government has already built over 400 schools which are functioning. Allocation had been made to the Punjab Government, but these things are not moving at the required pace. They have started with this project and in Punjab alone some 5,000 schools will be opened in the next five years. We have facilitated and provided international financing according to the respective needs of our provinces. In the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Balochistan, there is a USAID project worth \$270 million. Both these governments have moved readily and rapidly. I am confident that within the next five or six months, they will be able to put in the staff and furniture, and the schools will be functioning.

At the primary level, it is not a complicated issue. It is simply a matter of provision of resources. At the secondary level, not only do we need more resources and more funding, but we really need to review the curriculum.

At the primary level, we have introduced the 'Marboot Nisab', integrated curriculum, which bases instruction in the first three classes on just three books. Instruction has started in three provinces on Marboot Nisab. At the secondary level, the issue is complicated and the situation is quite critical. Here we find a deterioration in standards and lack of interest among the students. The books are not motivating. One feels the need for updating our teachers' training. We are making a two-pronged attack on our educational problems without making these changes simultaneously, we can't think of bringing about improvements.

[VIEWPOINT] What do you mean by updating teacher training?

[Ali] Our teacher training methodology needs modernisation. It needs to be made meaningful and relevant to the requirements of our society today and to the wider global context. These areas are much more difficult to deal with because rewriting a curriculum, reviewing a curriculum, and introducing new things is not an easy job.

[VIEWPOINT] The point is that despite the infrastructure that you are providing with US AID, the economic and social organisation of rural life prevents the families from sending their children to schools.

[Ali] We are providing the infrastructure with US AID, but it is only the money that is coming in from outside. The way the programme are structured in terms of what is going to be taught at what levels—those are our decisions. I agree with you that unless the curriculum changes, unless the curriculum becomes responsive to the needs of our people, our rural people in particular, the effort will not be truly productive.

The Federal Government has made its own proposals. We have proposed environmental health, nutrition, drug-related issues and population studies in our curricula.

[VIEWPOINT] Teaching health and nutrition would become meaningless if we teach to our poor that egg, milk and meat are essential for health, or we teach cleanliness to our slum dwellers and in villages where streets become muddy when a tractor passes through after it has rained. How do we convey what we want to teach?

[Ali] Education is slow in delivery. What we teach today, we will get results in 10, 15 or 20 years from today. A system that takes long to deliver can only guarantee sustainable progress and development. We may not be able to do anything in the short run, but we hope that, as children continue to go through the process of education at primary, middle and secondary levels, their awareness of improving living conditions will lead them to make these changes. Simultaneously other changes have also to come. This is not an easy process. This becomes more difficult when we see that in our society all sorts of freedom, of thought, inquiry, criticism, to be creative, innovative, have been very restricted. Nor has education received the kind of importance it deserves in terms of public recognition and professional status. As a result, many of our better people who might have thought of opting for education as a career have not done so and instead gone for more lucrative professions. Often, the calibre of the people going into education is not the finest or the best. This reflects in our textbooks as well, which one finds to be pedantic, boring, dull, repetitive and at times blatantly plagiarised.

[VIEWPOINT] What do you consider to be the reason for this?

[Ali] As I said earlier, it has a lot to do with the quality of people, with their background. It has a lot to do with what a government or State does to encourage textbook production.

Book writing is restricted to a few people. These few operate almost like a mafia within the educational system. The textbook boards have these special favourites whom they patronise. They do advertise, but what one finds is that it is always the same five or ten people who get contracts to write. I can't believe that in a country of more than 110 million, there are only ten or 20 people who can write books.

[VIEWPOINT] you think it is only the dull and uninspiring books that cause lack of motivation among our students?

[Ali] I think part of it has to do with books, a part has to do with the environment in which education takes place and also the competence and professional abilities of the teachers. A great deal of it has to do with the fact that by and large both families and students think after a while that they are gaining very little from this education which would be of any practical use to them in their lives. They would rather have their children at home doing some household work. That is why in our rural areas families do not send their children to school.

For instance, in the social studies course, instead of teaching about the locale, the flora [flora], the seasons, the diseases, the fauna of their surroundings, students are being taught concepts of world geography, geo-physical conditions, geo-physical resources. Now we are trying to reorganise the syllabus in accordance with our own needs. For a primary school child in Pakistan, it is not necessary to know what is happening in Africa. It is much more important for him to know about his own area, the country and the provinces.

[VIEWPOINT] What do you think of the nature of the student-teacher relationship in which a student is made a repository of the truths known to the teacher?

[Ali] I think it is erroneous, but this can only be changed by teacher training which is based on the inquiry approach. We must with discard these notions which have been discarded everywhere else in the world. I agree that we must encourage our teachers to allow students freedom to inquire and ask questions. I must tell you the findings of a survey which revealed that teachers on the average spend 70 percent of their time issuing negative instructions to the children—sit down; don't talk; be quiet; I will punish you; and so on.

But again, we can't blame our teachers alone. The number of students in a class-room is so large that the teacher can't give individual time to each student. So unless the facilities, the teacher-student ratio, the textbooks, the training and the mental environment change, nothing much can be expected.

[VIEWPOINT] The previous government had launched a literacy and mass education scheme, which was stopped by the present Government. Do you intend to launch an alternative and more effective scheme to meet the challenge of illiteracy?

[Ali] I am glad that you have raised this question. The need to raise literacy has been a favourite topic of all sorts of planners and development agencies. Literacy commissions were constituted and literacy plans were formulated, LAMEC, Nai Roshni, Iqra funds, each one teach one. Unfortunately, all these schemes were developed by those who were not educationists, and these schemes were not based on any educational data nor did the self-acclaimed crusaders against illiteracy bothered to learn from the breakthroughs made in this area by other developing countries. Instead of doing the job properly, they tended to rely on fanfare and making some political capital out of it. The result is that today

we have nothing to show. It is an acknowledged fact all over the world that if a literacy campaign does not provide for comprehensive five-year, full-time training, the relapse into illiteracy is very high. What our so-called literacy campaigns taught was nothing but mere recognition of the alphabet and construction of simple sentences and the capacity to read and write. Adults were instructed in this for a maximum period of two years. Then, you have to have a particular type of material. No one knew what was needed. The primer used at the primary level for children were used in the literacy course, these literates went back to the illiterate environment, with no need in their life for the skills that they had acquired. You can't expect these literates to read newspapers or the reading material that is available. Their training needed back-up material to suit the standard of reading and writing that they had acquired. What they need is a refresher course after six months or a year.

**The Literacy Rate (1981 census) (in percentage)**

	Total	Male	Female
<b>Total</b>	26.00	35.05	15.95
<b>Rural</b>	17.24	26.24	7.33
<b>Urban</b>	47.12	55.32	37.27

[VIEWPOINT] What do you reckon to be the main reason for this low rate of literacy?

[Ali] There are many reasons for this. First, the problem has never been given priority in terms of allocation of resources. The result is there for all to see. We have one of the lowest rates of literacy even among the developing countries. You can't improve this with part-time training and staff as they tried to do through the Nai Roshni project. To do this we need allocation of proper resources to raise the required infrastructure.

[VIEWPOINT] If the infrastructure is made available to you, do you think that the problem of illiteracy can be tackled?

[Ali] I think two or three things have to be done.

We will have to constantly increase our resource allocation for education until we come to a minimum of five percent. Secondly, this allocation must be earmarked and targeted. Thirdly, we must ensure that the administrative system of our country, the provincial ministries of education, the Federal Ministry of Education, are decentralised and are turned into an education service and staffed accordingly to meet national requirements.

[VIEWPOINT] Don't you think that it has something to do with the language in which the students are taught or literacy is imparted?

[Ali] It has a lot to do with the language. But whatever language is used, the administrative structure has to be responsive to the needs of the people. Even if we decide to teach in the mother tongue and we do not have a responsive administration capable of making the right

decisions at the right time, I don't think that we can achieve anything. So I will reiterate the need for proper allocation of funds....

[VIEWPOINT] What is happening in the colleges, because a lot of money is being spent at that level?

[Ali] The college situation is very bad even in terms of number of colleges. We have only 619 colleges in the whole of the country. On the average, we have 463 students in a college. Here we have situation where the options for a student after high school are so limited that a large number who pass their matriculation can't continue simply because of lack of infrastructure. We are planning to have polytechnics and other such institutions where these forced dropouts will be accommodated and trained as income-earning individuals.

If you look at it seriously, our college system too does not meet the needs of our society, particularly when education is considered to be an opening for a job or a future career. So we are considering orienting our college system in a way that the youth training there can be absorbed in some career.

As everyone knows our degrees are worth nothing today, these have no recognition abroad and can be bought by those who can afford it. The purchase and sale of our examination centres, the copying and cheating are no hidden facts. To my amazement I was recently told that even parents are involved in this academic pollution. The educational system at the college level, I am convinced, needs totally to be revamped.

[VIEWPOINT] What do you think of it at the university level?

[Ali] Education at the university level is no joke. It is serious and has to be very, very selective and the criteria for taking students in has to be very high and those joining should be interested in research and other higher academic pursuits. Not like at present when most of the intake is that of those who want to while away some time or join because of reasons other than academic. To my understanding, universities are meant for nothing else but higher levels of academic excellence.

[VIEWPOINT] Having said all this, what kind of education policy you have in mind?

[Ali] A policy that corresponds to the needs of Pakistan. An education system has to keep in mind that it has to prepare the present generation to face the next.

However, the emphasis of our policy is on primary education. The second part of the policy is the curriculum at the secondary level. The third part of our educational policy is to move away from generalised colleges and convert them into professional and technical institutes and training centres. We are against continuing the degree colleges that aim merely at giving degrees, however they are obtained.

Finally, the universities will be nothing but centres of excellence. After all, we have to march into the 20th century with the rest of the world. Then, I must add that the teachers at all levels of our educational pyramid are underpaid. They are overworked. They don't have proper facilities to operate and show their full potential. We must change this situation because without changing it nothing would take its proper course. We have proposed an educational service, we have proposed a substantial increase in salaries, we have proposed measures for the recognition of the teachers' status. But I must add that education is primarily a provincial subject. The Federal Government can only lay broad policy outlines and ensure that the provinces get a certain budget.

[VIEWPOINT] Our colleges and universities, instead of academic standards, are known for violence. Do you think the provision of a better environment and improved infrastructure will restore the academic life?

[Ali] No. Violence in the campuses, or for that matter violence anywhere in society, is a result of a certain set of actions and the general situation. I don't believe that any student at the secondary or college level intends to go to college or university with a gun in his hands. It is not true to hold only our students responsible for the unfortunate situation at our campuses. The State and society too should be blamed for this. The students resort to violence in their frustration, they resort to violence as an ultimate means of changing some thing. This is because the system does not meet their legitimate needs. Students cannot get into colleges easily. Now this is happening when we keep on claiming that we want to educate all.

I believe that increased opportunities will reduce violence. But this will have to be accompanied by qualified staff, libraries, community centres, increased transport facilities, encouragement, etc. If at least 90 percent can be given in jobs, we will have reduced the level of campus violence because this will make their education meaningful.

### **Creative Examination Processes Suggested**

46000094 Lahore VIEWPOINT  
in English 8 Feb 90 pp 20-21

[Text] By the time they are six or seven-year-old, most school-going children in Pakistan have already encountered a formal examination.

For some, notably those attempting the horrendously difficult feat of gaining admission in one of the many private schools, the process begins even before they have entered the institutions. Four or five-year-olds are expected to cram up an assortment of information, and are formally tested in it. But the whole exercise, like so much else in our education system, is merely a farce—an ingenious exercise in futility, designed to torment both

the child and his parent since the criterion for admission is, so often, nepotism or bribery in the form of 'building funds', 'library charges', and other dubious devices thought up by the schools.

The pattern of these examinations is still more frightening. In our system, exams largely determine what a child studies (or is taught) and how he studies it. Yet, from the time a child picks up a pencil to attempt the rudimentary requirements of a Class I annual examination to the time he takes his Matric or F.A. papers, he is expected to act only as a carbon copy for what he has read in his textbooks. Rather than be rewarded for any attempt to display a wider knowledge, he is penalized for any deviations and restricted to reproducing, as precisely as possible, the dubious material of his textbooks. Even essays, meant to be exercises in creative writing, follow a set, stilted, pre-determined pattern, which most children are taught to adhere to.

Not unnaturally, this requirement of the examination system determines the manner in which children are taught. Only the rare teacher will venture to provide any information outside the dull dictates of the standard school curriculum. Similarly, the child, anxious to steer away from the grim crime of too much knowledge, is hardly likely to indulge in any reading beyond his books—or even dare to think actively about what he is studying or what he is being ordered to believe.

Thus, our education system can take credit for reducing perfectly intelligent young people to a state where, by the time they graduate, they are completely devoid of the ability to think independently or reason coherently. They are slaves to an examination system which seems to be deliberately designed to produce people who do not think but accept what is preached to them.

Perhaps still more worrying is the growing evidence that the corruption which has assumed epidemic proportions at the higher examination levels has begun to seep downwards. Unlike at the more advanced levels, where various 'techniques' exist, often because of the co-operation of the invigilating staff, to facilitate cheating, the methods used at the school level are limited. But some of the cases recently highlighted are shocking. At some of Lahore's Government schools, children admit they are helped to prepare 'booti' or 'phara' (slips of paper, used as examination 'aids') by helpful teachers—and their use in school rooms (sometimes hidden in 'taveez' worn around the neck or arm) is common. The situation is the same in the more elitist schools, where cases have also been reported of rich, and apparently educated, parents attempting—and no doubt frequently succeeding—in bribing teachers to buy marks for their children. In one of Lahore's leading schools, the father of a young pupil was found by the principal hastily, and furtively, attempting to correct some of his offspring's errors while briefly left alone to look at an examination answer paper his child had failed to pass.



Clearly, if any check is to be put on the rampant malpractices—and efforts made to make the examination system less limited in its demand—the whole existing order will have to be revised—a formidable task by any standards.

The reasoning behind putting young children through the rigours of an examination system, which brutally labels them as having 'passed' or 'failed' and which sometimes puts quite immense pressure on them, must be reassessed.

Adjusting the repetitive and extremely predictable pattern of examination questions within a framework where more creative thought and analytical abilities are required from the child would also help to shift the focus of education away from the numbing ordeal of rote-learning and perhaps, to some extent, put a curb on large-scale cheating. In the same way, the vast variance in the facilities available to children from poor rural or urban schools and to those coming from elitist private schools must also be carefully examined as part of the effort to devise a fairer, less dishonest and more creative examination process in the country.

### **Karachi Shipyard To Build Tanker**

46000096C Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 24 Feb 90 p 6

[Text] Karachi, Feb 23—The keel laying ceremony of a tanker to be built by Karachi Shipyard for Pakistan Navy was performed at a simple ceremony at KSEW [Karachi Shipyard & Engineering Workers] this forenoon by Rear Admiral S. Wasi Haider S. I.(M), Commander Karachi, Pakistan Navy. The vessel will be built in one year's time at a total cost of Rs. 86 million. It is a 200 feet long multipurpose tanker vessel which can besides deck cargo, carry water and oil separately in its tanks. It will be used as a support vessel for Naval fleet.

Welcoming the chief guest the Managing director of KSEW Rear Admiral M. Naeem Beg, HI(M), S.Bt expressed the hope that the KSEW will, in future embark upon more such projects for the Navy. Admiral Wasi Haider started his keel laying address by saying "no nation can become a great nation without first becoming a strong maritime power." He lauded the efforts of KSEW in its quest for adding strength to the maritime power of the country.

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